

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

June, 1947

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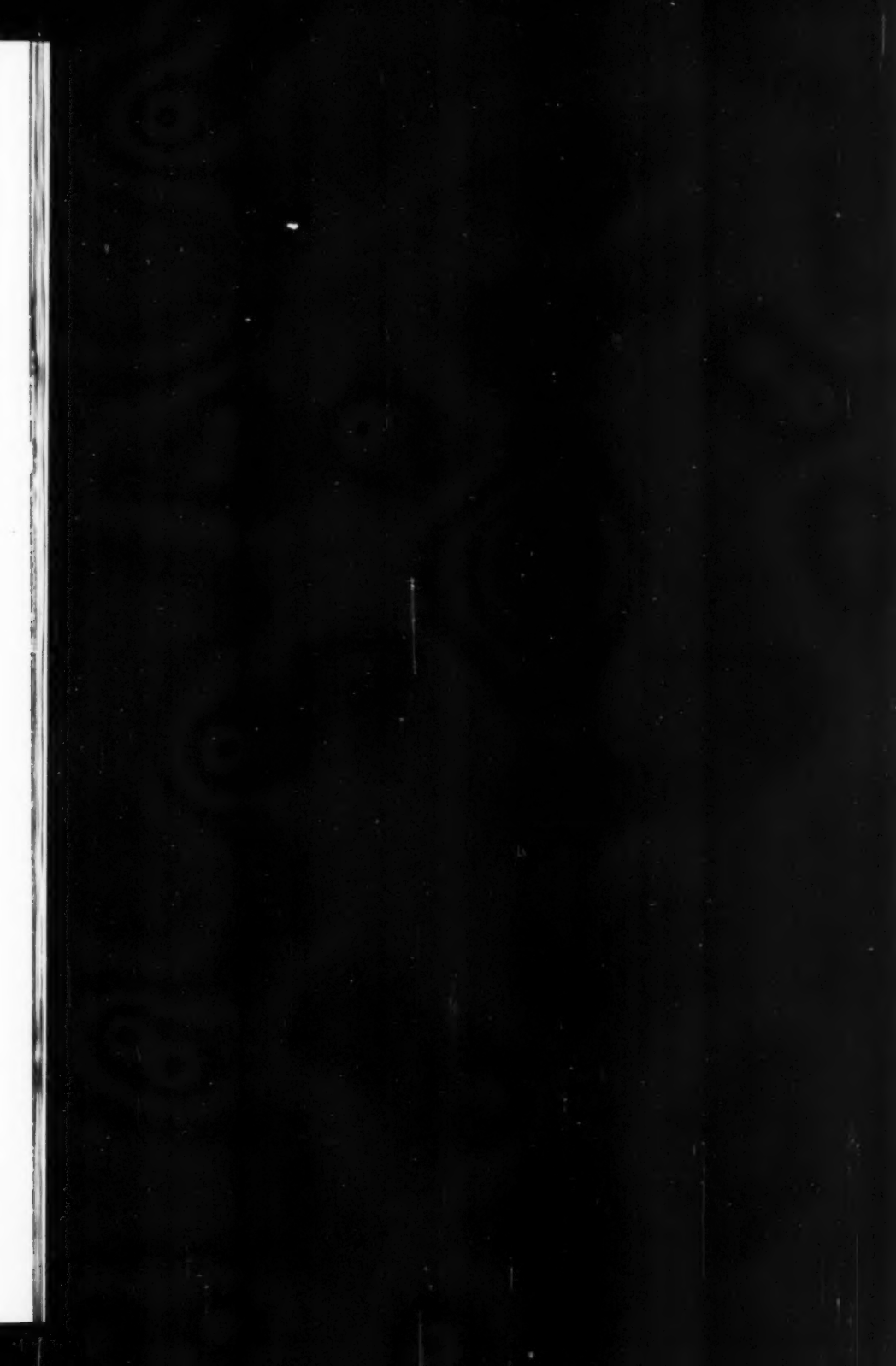
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THE GLASS MOUNTAIN

By ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE

In a considerable number of folk tales from the British Isles, Scandinavia, Central and Eastern Europe there occurs the motive of a glass mountain (normally referred to as *the* glass mountain) conceived as some far-off place of difficult access, frequently said to lie at the ends of the earth. It is found in the following themes:

A. The glass mountain is the abode of supernatural beings, for the most part swanmaidens.¹

B. It is the temporary abode of a man or a woman lying under a spell, and the would-be liberators are accordingly expected to climb it, penetrate it, or simply cross it.²

C. A princess is placed there by her own father, often at her own request, as a protective measure,³ or to test her prospective suitors, who are required to ride up the glass mountain,⁴ or to cross it,⁵ before they may aspire to her hand.

Of these three groups, B is the most instructive because most likely to shed light on the true meaning of the motive. It is a familiar fact that the fairy tale knows no death so far as the hero and heroine are concerned, or, if they do die, it is long after their adventures have come to a successful conclusion, at the end of a long and blissful life.⁶ Death invariably assumes the form of an enchantment or spell, the liberation from which is thus the equivalent of a resuscitation. The spell may take the form of a magic sleep (as in

¹ A. Rittershaus, *Die neusländischen Volksmärchen* (Halle, 1902), p. 215 (Faroe); J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche Hausmärchen* (Göttingen u. Leipzig, 1851), pp. 217 ff.; R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 444; O. Knoop, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XXVI (1916), 204 ff. (Polish); V. Tille, *Verzeichnis der böhmischen Märchen* (Porvoo, 1921), pp. 144 ff., 147 ff.; V. Jagić, *Archiv f. slavische Philologie*, V (1881), 44 ff. (South Slav); J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* (München-Berlin, 1918), I, 80 ff. To the same general type belongs Tille, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 ff.

² Grimm, *K.H.M.*, Nos. 25, 93, 127, and 193; J. Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen* (Wien, 1885), No. 32; L. Bechstein, *Märchenbuch* (München, 1917), No. 12; Rittershaus, *op. cit.*, p. 27 (Faroe); K. Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg* (Kiel, 1845), pp. 385 ff.; A. Kuhn and F. L. W. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche* (Leipzig, 1848), p. 347; cf. P. Zaunert, *Deutsche Märchen seit Grimm* (Jena, 1922-23), I, 211; Tille, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 106, 116, 249; Bolte-Polivka, *Märchen-Anmerkungen*, I, 233 (Hesse).

³ Schott, *Walachische Märchen* (Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1845), No. 16; M. Wisser, *Zeitschrift d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, XXV (1915), 305 ff.

⁴ Aarne-Thompson, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*, No. 530; Bolte-Polivka, *op. cit.*, III, 111, n. 3; B. Thorpe, *Yule Tide Stories* (London, 1853), pp. 86 ff. (Swedish); I. M. Boberg, *Danske Studier* (1928), pp. 16-53; Haltrich, *op. cit.*, No. 16.

⁵ Grimm, *K.H.M.*, No. 196.

⁶ Cf. my *Science of Folk-Lore* (London, 1930), pp. 32 ff.

Sleeping Beauty), a transformation into an animal, a statue, etc., or simply the removal of hero or heroine to some remote place of difficult access, into which the would-be liberators have to penetrate, at the risk of their own lives, to undo the enchantment or spell. This remote place is therefore the fairy-tale equivalent of the world of the dead.⁷ On this showing, the glass mountain has long since been recognized as one of the several forms which the world of the departed may assume in folk tales.⁸

This inference is confirmed by certain other features met with, in connection with our motive, and not in folk tales only. In a story of the Grimm collection (No. 25) the glass mountain is guarded by a dwarf; but the chthonian nature of dwarfs is well established.⁹ In a Danish ballad, Sivard (i. e., Siegfried) frees Brynild from the glass mountain, on top of which she is lying spellbound.¹⁰ It has been pointed out repeatedly that the glass mountain in this ballad has taken the place of another motive, that of the wall of flames (*Waberlohe*), the chthonian significance of which was proved but a few years ago.¹¹ In a Bohemian tale, the water of life (which is to cure the blindness of an old king) must be fetched from a glass mountain.¹² The fountain of youth is generally supposed to flow in the earthly paradise or in some other place equally inaccessible to man and is frequently identified with the land of the departed.¹³ In a story from French Switzerland belonging to a well-known *märchen* type (Grimm, *K.H.M.*, No. 96), the "singing tree" and the "bird of truth" must be fetched from the glass mountain. In that mountain there is dancing and merrymaking, and all men who had preceded the hero in this quest, unable to resist the lure of the elfin music, had joined the dance, forgetting their dear ones at home and dancing in all eternity.¹⁴ This theme is widespread in Celtic lands,¹⁵ and there can be little doubt that the glass mountain is the world of the dead.

In Woycicki's collection of Polish folk tales we find a story¹⁶ belonging to group B and adding the following curious details. The

⁷ H. Naumann, *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur* (Jena, 1921), p. 43; *Imago*, III, 150 and 162; H. D. Müller, *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* (Göttingen, 1857-61), I, 158, n. 2.

⁸ J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, II⁴, 698 n.; A. Rassmann, *Die deutsche Heldensage und ihre Heimat* (Hannover, 1857-63), I, 151; W. Müller, *Mythologie der deutschen Heldensage* (Heilbronn, 1886), p. 108; *Geschichte und System der altheutschen Religion* (Göttingen, 1844), p. 398; H. Siuts, *Jenseitsmotive im deutschen Volksmärchen* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 43.

⁹ Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, E 424, F 167.2, 451.4.1.9, 451.5.1.8, 451.6.10, and my *Science of Folk-Lore*, pp. 87 ff.

¹⁰ Grundtvig, *D.g.F.*, No. 3; L. Pineau, *Les vieux chants populaires scandinaves* (Paris, 1898-1901), II, 213.

¹¹ *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, CLXXII (1937), 1-10.

¹² Tille, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

¹³ Cf. A. Wünsche, *Ex Oriente Lux*, I (Leipzig, 1905), 51-158.

¹⁴ O. Henne-Am Rhyn, *Die deutsche Volkssage* (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 471 ff.

¹⁵ *Zeitschrift f. franz. Sprache u. Literatur*, LVII (1933), 156-62.

¹⁶ K. W. Woycicki, *Polnische Volkssagen und Märchen*, übers. v. F. H. Lewestam (Berlin, 1839), p. 115.

liberator of the spellbound princess climbs a glass mountain with the help of lynx claws which he has tied to his hands and feet. The Polish chronicler Matthew Strykowski, in a chronicle published in Königsberg (1582) and Warsaw (1766), bears witness to the following strange pieces of eschatological lore current among the Lithuanians of his day. The dead, they believed, have to climb a very steep mountain, on top of which the divine judge (*Kriwe Kriweito*) sits enthroned. The rich, encumbered with their possessions, find the climbing a most arduous task, while for the poor, unencumbered as they are, it is correspondingly easy. To facilitate the climb, the Lithuanians took care to burn the claws of lynxes and bears with the corpse. The mountain is called, in the Lithuanian language, *Anafielas*, in Polish *szklama gora* (i. e., glass mountain).¹⁷ In Polish belief, the damned must climb this mountain, but as soon as they have reached its top, they tumble down and must begin their hard task all over again.¹⁸ Albert Wijuk Kojalowicz,¹⁹ in recounting the cremation of the Lithuanian prince Szwentorog, states that, when the body had been consumed by the flames, the mourners threw the claws of bears and panthers (*sic*) into the fire, as a last honor shown the departed. The eschatological meaning of the glass mountain among the Balts and Slavs is thus evident.²⁰

Instead of the glass mountain we find, in certain texts, a glass city located, characteristically, on an island in the ocean,²¹ a glass house,²² a glass island, a glass boat,²³ a glass bridge,²⁴ or a glass tower.²⁵ According to a widely held belief, the realm of the dead is thought to be an island in the ocean,²⁶ accessible only by boat or over a perilous bridge,²⁷ or else Death is supposed to dwell in a tower or fortress, whence he sallies to snatch his victims.²⁸

Most of the folk tales that were collected after the rise of folk-lore studies in Europe are frequently assumed, since they were taken

¹⁷ Grimm, *op. et loc. cit.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 286; cf. W. Mannhardt, *Germanische Mythen* (Berlin, 1858), p. 336 n.

²⁰ Cf. also W. Caland, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, XVII (1914), 487 f.

²¹ A. Briceux, *Contes persans* (Liège-Paris, 1910), p. 354.

²² J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion* (Paris, 1913), II, 301 f.

²³ K. Meyer and A. Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal, to the Land of the Living* (London, 1905-1907), I, 236 ff.; A. C. L. Brown, "Iwain," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 28 ff.

²⁴ P. W. Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances* (London, 1901), pp. 139 ff.

²⁵ Nennius, cap. 13; cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* (Paris, 1884), pp. 117 ff.

²⁶ J. Zemmrich, *Toteninseln und verwandte geographische Mythen*, in *Internationales Archiv f. Ethnographie*, IV (1891), 217-44.

²⁷ Siuts, *op. cit.*, p. 41; E. Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles* (London [1928]), pp. 222 ff.; Zemmrich, *op. cit.*, p. 236; F. Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* (Hannover, 1856), pp. 90 ff.

²⁸ H. Lübke, *Neugriechische Volks- und Liebeslieder* (Berlin, 1895), p. 78; S. Czarnowski, *Le Culte des héros et ses conditions sociales* (Paris, 1919), p. 159; H. Güntert, *Kalypso* (Halle, 1919), p. 38.

down in the nineteenth century, to be relatively recent products of the human mind. Thus the question arises, How old is the motive of the glass mountain and its congeners? We have already seen that the Polish and Lithuanian *szklama gora* is attested as early as the sixteenth century. The Danish ballad of Sivard breaking the spell of Brynild on the glass mountain carries us back to the waning Middle Ages. In the M.H.G. *Wolfdietrich* (Dresden, stanza 289) the hero is spellbound in a ditch or moat surrounded by four glass mountains.²⁹ A glass mountain is referred to in the younger *Titur* (thirteenth century).³⁰ An *Isle de Voirre* occurs in Chrétien's *Erec* (vv. 1940 ff.), that is, as early as the middle of the twelfth century;³¹ a bridge of glass in the *Imram Maelduin*, which carries us back to the eighth century; a boat of glass in the *Echtra Condla Chaim*; and a tower of glass in Nennius. Students of Celtic antiquities have accordingly not hesitated to infer, and rightly so, that the motive in question is an integral part of Celtic eschatology.³²

At this point a purely historical problem presents itself. Glass, supposedly an invention of the Phoenicians, was indeed a rare and correspondingly expensive article throughout antiquity and the early Middle Ages.³³ At the beginning of our era, for example, a glass cup was more valuable than a golden one. It is equally true, however, that, though precious, glass did not impress the imagination in the manner that gold and precious stones have always done. Thus while "gold" is currently used in stock comparisons to denote something of great value, "glass" is virtually never found in such connections. It is strange, therefore, that narrators, to depict the splendor of the Otherworld, should have had recourse to glass rather than to gold, and we are led to enquire into the etymology of the word "glass."

The E. *glass*, G. *glas* is closely connected with M.L.G. *glar* "resin," *glez* "amber," rendered in Latin as *glasum* or *glesum* by Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, Solinus, and others.³⁴ We are thus dealing with a simple semantic development: a word originally meaning "resin" or "amber" (amber had from of old been recognized as a resinous product) was subsequently applied to denote glass, once that product had become known north of the Alps. An analogous development can be observed in the Celtic languages: Ir. *glain*, *gloin* "glass, crystal," W. *glein*, *glain* "gemma, tessera," presuppose an older **gles-inu-s*.³⁵ This would suggest the possibility of the glass mountain, glass island, etc., having been, originally, an amber mountain, an amber island,

²⁹ Bolte-Polivka, *op. cit.*, I, 233 f.

³⁰ Stanza 6174; cf. Bolte-Polivka, *op. cit.*, I, 234; Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

³¹ Cf. G. Paris, in *Romania*, XII (1883), 510 ff.

³² D'Arbois, *op. et loc. cit.*; Paris, *op. et loc. cit.*

³³ Cf. Ebert's *Reallexikon*, s.v. *Glas*.

³⁴ Cf. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, II, 31 n.; Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 334 ff.

³⁵ J. Rhys and D. Brynmor Jones, *The Welsh People* (London, 1906), p. 62.

etc. While it is quite true that nowhere do we hear of an amber mountain, there is no dearth of amber islands.

In his geography of Germania (IV. 97) Pliny makes the following statement: "Inde insulae Romanis armis cognitae, earum nobilissimae Burcana Fabaria nostris dicta a frugis similitudine sponte provenientis, item *Glaesaria* a sucino militiae appellata, barbaris Austeravia, praeterque Actania." In another place (XXXVII. 42) he reverts to the subject: "Certum est gigni [sucinum] in insulis septentrionalis oceanii et ab Germanis appellari *glaesum*, itaque et ab nostris ob id unam insularum *Glaesariam* appellatam Germanico Caesare res ibi gerente, Austeraviam a barbaris dictam." Elsewhere (IV. 103) he mentions the same name as referring to an entire archipelago: "ab adversa in Germanicum mare sparsae *Glaesiae*, quas Electridas Graeci recentiores appellavere, quod ibi electrum nasceretur." All these words are clearly connected with O.G. *glez*, O.E. *glaer* "amber" from *glisan* "to shine, to glitter." In Medieval Wales we meet with another glass island, *Ynisgwtrin*, the Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury, identified by William of Malmesbury with Avallon, the Welsh land of the blest.³⁶

The Celtic amber island, as we have seen above, survived down to the time of Chrétien de Troyes, who in his *Erec* describes it as follows:

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 Vint Maheloas, uns hanz ber,
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Ferdinand Lot³⁸ aptly compared the glowing description of the isle of Avallon given by Guillaume de Rennes in his versified text of Geoffrey's *Historia* with the no less glowing account of the Land of the Living in the Irish *Echtra Condla Chaim*, the land of eternal bliss which the ancient Irish fondly imagined to be the abode of their departed heroes. While nothing is said about that land being an amber island, still it is significant that it is reached in a glass, i. e., an amber, boat. "To embark in a glass house" is (or was) a Welsh paraphrase for "to die," and a German curse, "Lass dich verglasen" (i. e., "go to the Devil") seems to have a similar origin.³⁹

In ancient Scandinavia we meet neither with an amber mountain nor with an amber island, but with an amber valley, *Glaesisvellir* or

³⁶ *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae*; cf. E. Faral, *La Légende arthurienne* (Paris, 1929), I, 304.

³⁷ Ed. Foerster, vv. 1945 ff.

³⁸ *Romania*, XXVII (1898), 558.

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³⁹ Liebrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 151; H. Lessmann, *Der deutsche Volksmund im Lichte der Sage* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1922), pp. 130 ff.

Glaesisvpllum, likewise a sort of paradise.⁴⁰ At the very gates of Walhöll there is an amber grove, *Glaesir*, probably identical with the *Glaesislundr* mentioned by an Eddic poem.⁴¹ In the *Iarlmagussaga p.m.*, 320-22, a *glêrhiminn* (coelum vitreum) is referred to, a sort of paradise and an abode of old heroes.⁴²

Lastly, the reader may ask, What connection is there between amber and the land of the dead? What accounts for the association of amber with an island, a mountain, or the realm of the departed? Pliny's texts furnish us an easy explanation of the association of amber with an island. From Mycenaean times to the reign of Rome's first imperial dynasty the amber used and appreciated in Mediterranean lands came from the German North Sea coast, where it was washed ashore along the Frisian archipelago. Since to the wretched barbarians of those remote regions the substance was as valuable as gold is to us, these islands soon acquired the reputation of a sort of Eldorado or paradise. On the other hand, in the beliefs of many and widely separated peoples the land of the dead is identified with some island in the ocean. Given man's tendency to depict that mysterious land in glowing colors, most flattering to human hopes,⁴³ it was an easy step to identify the amber island with the unknown country from whose bourne no traveler returns. True, there is no mountain on the islands along the flat Jutish coast; yet it must not be forgotten that both among Teutons and Celts the land of the dead is frequently thought to be located in the hollow of a mountain or hill (the fairy knolls of Scotland and Ireland, the mountain of the sleeping emperor in Germany).⁴⁴ What happened, then, was a contamination of the belief in an amber isle as the land of the departed with the concept of a mountain in the interior of which the dead lead a life of revelry or bliss. The result was the notion of an amber mountain which, owing to the semantic evolution of the word for "amber," became in due course a glass mountain.⁴⁵

If these inductions are correct, we should expect the diffusion area of our motive to coincide, in a general way, with the diffusion area of amber. This is certainly borne out by our variants, which cover the

⁴⁰ Cf. *Speculum*, XVIII (1943), 307 ff.

⁴¹ *Helg. Hjórv.* 1.

⁴² J. Grimm, II⁴, 685, n. 1.

⁴³ On this general subject cf. the excellent work of H. Güntert, *Kalypso*, quoted above, and, for a brief outline, *Revue Celtique*, XLVIII (1931), 94 ff.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Mitteilungen d. Schlesischen Gesellschaft f. Volkskunde*, XXXV (1935), 76 ff.

⁴⁵ This explanation, we trust, will appear to most readers more plausible than Liebrecht's (*op. cit.*, p. 153). The Belgian scholar, too, realized that the glass mountain was really the land of the dead; but he derived the concept from the supposed custom of our ancestors to place the ashes of their dead in glass urns. Avallón may thus have been an ancient burial ground called, for this reason, "glass island."

lands of Celtic and Teutonic speech, as well as Slavonic Europe as far south as the Black Sea and the Caucasus.⁴⁶ They are absent from the three South European peninsulas (with the sole exception of Hahn's Balkan variant), where amber was reduced to the role of a commercial commodity obtained in exchange for southern products.

The three groups of fairy-tale themes which mention the glass mountain may be divided into two classes. In A and B the glass mountain is clearly an Otherworld realm, the abode of supernatural beings or of the departed, since we know that in fairy tales the spell is a current expression for death. In C, on the other hand, the glass mountain has been reduced to the modest role of a machine offering an easy and convenient test of the suitors of a royal lady. We should conclude offhand, from what has been said above, that A and B represent an older stage in the development of the theme than does C. This inference is borne out by the evolution of a parallel motive already alluded to, that of the wall of flames (*Waberlohe*). There, too, the original function of the motive was to surround the abode where the heroine lies under a spell. It was much later that its role was reduced to that of testing the courage of the suitors of a princess.⁴⁷

Of greater importance is another inference suggesting itself: If the glass mountain, glass isle, etc., were originally an amber mountain, an amber isle, etc., it goes without saying that our motive must antedate the semantic development amber > glass, which means that it must go back into prehistoric times.

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⁴⁶ Boberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 51. From the Caucasus the motive appears to have reached Persia, thus explaining the isolated Oriental (and fairly recent) variant of Bricteux.

⁴⁷ *Archiv*, CLXXII (1937), 1 ff.

A SOURCE NOTE ON BOYLE'S *THE GENERALL*

By C. WILLIAM MILLER

Professor William S. Clark, II, in his excellent edition of *The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery*,¹ states that when Boyle wrote "the first full-fledged heroic play" entitled *The Generall* (1661) he had commingled, in fashioning the new dramatic form, several literary sources:

. . . the earlier English romantic drama . . . the Caroline court plays . . . the French heroic romances, in which Orrery had steeped himself so deeply that he had been able to publish a fairly satisfactory English imitation in 1654,² and . . . the contemporary French serious plays of the two Corneilles and of Quinault. . . .

From among those earlier English source dramas Professor Clark singles out, with two others, Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, of which a few points in *The Generall* are "strongly reminiscent." Like Juliet, Altemera, the heroine of *The Generall*, takes a seemingly mortal drug to prevent her falling into the hands of a detested suitor, and just as Romeo and the County Paris visit the tomb of Juliet, the three suitors of Altemera come separately to the darkened bed-chamber where the body of the heroine lies.³

The interesting and relevant fact of literary genesis and mutation which has not heretofore been called to the attention of scholars is that some six or seven years prior to the composition of *The Generall* Boyle had employed situations strongly reminiscent of *Romeo and Juliet* in his imitation he-oico-historical romance *Parthenissa*, and that one of those situations parallels in detail a key situation in *The Generall*.

Artabanus, the hero of *Parthenissa*, like Romeo, fights a duel, but with a scheming rival rather than with a member of a feuding house,⁴ and like Romeo is banished for the deed.⁵ Like Romeo, Artabanus is in banishment in another city when a servant brings news that Parthenissa, like Juliet, has taken a drug to free herself from a hated lover and is dead.⁶ Arsaces, King of Parthia, like the grieved parents of Romeo and Juliet, commemorates the death of the heroine and a

¹ Harvard University Press, 1937, I, 65-66.

² Only the first two tomes of *Parthenissa* were published in 1654; tomes three and four followed in 1655, a fifth in 1656, and a sixth in 1669.

³ Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, 101.

⁴ *Parthenissa* (London, 1676), 249-50; Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. H. Craig (1934), III, i, 130-40. Boyle does, however, employ the situation of a love affair between members of feuding houses in one of the sub-plots of his romance, "The History of Perolla and Izadora."

⁵ *Parth.*, 250; *R & J*, III, i, 192-93.

⁶ *Parth.*, 595-96, 601; *R & J*, IV, iii, 58; V, i, 17-18.

great love affair by erecting a statue which, however, portrays Parthenissa standing and the king, who egotistically considered himself her only worthy lover, kneeling abjectly before her.⁷ Thus Boyle seems clearly to have had parts of *Romeo and Juliet* in mind when he wrote both *Parthenissa* and *The Generall*, although in only one significant situation, i. e., the heroine's taking a drug to save herself from a distasteful lover, do the two plots run exactly parallel.

Shakespeare, in *Romeo and Juliet*, allows both his heroine and the audience to understand the alleged nature of the drug before Juliet drinks it and thus affords himself opportunity for inserting Juliet's moments of agonizing reflection before she empties the vial. Boyle, on the other hand, striving for melodramatic effect and seeking occasion for the heroines of both his romance and drama to display their heroic and exalted conceptions of virtue, makes three notable changes from the source in employing the drug device. First, Parthenissa and Altemera think they are drinking poison, and when the drug finally takes effect, Boyle leads both the readers of his romance and the theatre audience to believe that the heroines die.⁸ Second, as a substitute for Juliet's soliloquy before taking the drug, Boyle contrives as the high points of the identical scenes in both pieces of writing rather lengthy impassioned dialogues in which the maidens, having already drunk the liquid, confront triumphantly their unsuspecting despised suitors. In each case the suitor is a tyrannical monarch, who, after issuing an ultimatum, has come either to receive the heroine in marriage as his queen or to satisfy his lust by force. The maidens defy their suitors, reiterate their vows of constancy to their true lovers, and then swoon.⁹ Third, whereas in Shakespeare Juliet's taking the drug precipitates the tragedy rather than resolves the difficulty, in Boyle's two compositions, which are tragi-comedies, the two maidens revive to be united with their lovers.

The single objection that can be raised against the validity of the close parallel in this one central situation in Boyle's romance and in his play is that Boyle never completed *Parthenissa* and hence never actually declared that the heroine revived or that the lovers were reunited; however, he did leave sufficient evidence in the 727 folio pages¹⁰ which he had finished to make quite apparent his plans for completing his principal plot.

The initial and most obvious argument against Parthenissa's really being dead is that the writers of heroico-historical romance employed the supposed death of heroes and heroines as a stock device, evidently

⁷ *Parth.*, 606-07; *R & J*, V, iii, 298-302.

⁸ *Parth.*, 595-96; Clark, *op. cit.*, *The Generall*, IV, v, 212, 418.

⁹ *Parth.*, 595-96; *The Generall*, IV, v, 327-418.

¹⁰ The actual number of pages in the 1676 edition; the final page is numbered 808 as the result of an eighty-one-page error in pagination earlier in the volume.

calculated to invoke suspense.¹¹ Therefore no inveterate seventeenth-century readers of romance would have been deceived by the author's declaring, midway through the long-winded narrative, that the most important character had died.

But still more convincing evidence for the survival of Parthenissa Boyle supplies in the romance itself. The hero Artaban—like Romeo, overwhelmed by the news of the heroine's death and desirous of ending his own life—is tricked by his servant into first consulting the Oracle of Venus at Hierapolis. The oracular pronouncement he receives is of course equivocal, but the fact that the hero interprets it to his disadvantage is hint enough that all will turn finally to his advantage. Artaban's decree reads:

From Parthenissa's Ashes I will raise
A Phoenix, in whose Flames thou shalt be blest:
Wait then about this Temple a few Days,
And all thy Torments shall be crown'd with Rest.¹²

To the hero's contrary interpretation, the priest Callimachus, experienced in plumbing the true meanings of oracles, replies:

The word of Rest evidently implies a cessation from sufferings and fears; and that Phoenix for aught we know may be *Parthenissa* herself, who perhaps is but dead to your belief.¹³

Several days later, during a ride not far from the Temple, Artaban, unperceived, spies in a wood among a small group of travelers a maiden whose appearance and voice resemble closely those of Parthenissa.¹⁴ From their conversation he learns that the destination of the group is the Temple of Venus, and from the maiden he overhears this remark:

You know too we are not yet safe; neither do I know, till I hear of my generous Friend, whether my condition will require being so: possibly what he may have heard already, has occasion'd him to do that which may invite me to believe, what I have been freed from may be that which I wish had not been, and which I may cause to elect again.¹⁵

Although Boyle deliberately made this speech teasingly vague for his readers, the maiden's words describe so exactly the situation of

¹¹ A complete list of the heroes and heroines of the French romances who reappear after being declared dead would run to an astonishing length. Among the more prominent are Izatida in Gomberville's *Polexandre*; Orontes, Statira, and Parisatis in La Calprenède's *Cassandra*; Artaban and Cleopatra in La Calprenède's *Cléopâtre*; and Artamenes, Mandana, and Mazares in Scudéry's *Le Grand Cyrus*. Boyle himself has two other characters in *Parthenissa*, Mithridatia and Ascanius, reappear after he has definitely told the reader that they are dead. (Cf. *Parth.*, 654, 799.)

¹² *Parth.*, 523.

¹³ *Parth.*, 524.

¹⁴ *Parth.*, 707, 709.

¹⁵ *Parth.*, 708. Note that the maiden, unaware of the fate of her "generous Friend," envisages a tragic conclusion to their love affair exactly parallel to that of Romeo and Juliet.

Artabanès and Parthenissa that one may assume on the basis of this and the other evidence presented that the maiden is really Parthenissa, who has revived from the effects of the opiate (or recovered miraculously from the poison) and who, had the author seen fit to complete the romance, would eventually have been united with her lover.¹⁶

The additional complication¹⁷ which Boyle introduced into the main plot just at the point where he is concluding the ninth installment of the Artabanès-Parthenissa narrative in the intricate three-plot romance, and at just the moment when Artabanès is about to reveal himself to Parthenissa, is understandable enough when one discovers that the author has yet a fourth plot thread to unwind, and when one recalls that the principal narrative of any heroico-historical romance is brought to a happy summation only in the final pages. Thirteen years after beginning this final intercalated narrative,¹⁸ Boyle did catch up again the strands of his story at the request of the youthful Princess Henrietta Anne, Duchess of Orleans,¹⁹ but the author, by now a recognized playwright, evidently undertook the task with little spirit, for he failed in the last part to complete either the sub-plot or the principal one.

Thus, if Boyle's plans for completing *Parthenissa* be reconstructed aright, we are justified, on the evidence of the one striking parallel

¹⁶ Corroborative evidence for the accuracy of this interpretation is to be found in the *histoires* of Oroondates and Statira and Lysimachus and Parisatis, the main and reduplicating plots of La Calprenède's *Cassandre* (1642-45), sources which Boyle employed far more extensively than *Romeo and Juliet* in developing the Artabanès-Parthenissa and the reduplicating Artavasdes-Altezeera narratives in *Parthenissa*. Both French heroes, learning that their loved ones are dead (although neither heroine dies by taking a drug), receive equivocal decrees from the Oracle at the Temple of Apollo, commanding them to remain at the temple until their destinies are fulfilled. In the concluding pages of *Cassandre*, the heroes discover that the two maidens of whom they had caught fleeting glimpses in the vicinity of the temple and whom they thought at the time had resembled Statira and Parisatis are indeed their loved ones, very much alive. The two pairs of lovers are reunited. (For a detailed, documented working out of these parallels between the French and English romances, see my typescript doctoral thesis, *The Influence of the French Heroico-Historical Romances on Seventeenth-Century English Prose Fiction* [University of Virginia, 1940], II, 354-61.)

¹⁷ Artabanès sees the maiden who he thought was Parthenissa embrace and kiss a strange knight and immediately concludes that the maiden cannot be his mistress; nevertheless he orders his squire to continue spying on the travelers while he retires to hear the *histoire* of Callimachus. Thus when Artabanès eventually discovers that the maiden is Parthenissa, the romancer will have already planted the seed for still another complication by resorting to the common deceptive device of causing the hero to suspect the faithfulness and virtue of the heroine. La Calprenède uses the same trick twice in *Cassandre* (trans. Cotterell [London, 1676], 202, 438) and once in *Cléopâtre* (trans. Loveday [London, 1687], 436). Boyle uses the device first in the Artavasdes-Altezeera plot. (*Parth.*, 386.)

¹⁸ *Supra*, n. 2.

¹⁹ Cf. Dedication to *Parth.*, Part VI.

in the plots of his romance and his first play, in drawing these conclusions: first, Boyle, attracted by the possibilities of the *Romeo and Juliet* plot, was intent on weaving parts of it into the plots of his two earliest compositions; second, in *Parthenissa* he had first cast in the new heroic mold one important situation from an earlier English romantic drama, and thus, prior to the writing of *The Generall*, had blended two of the literary sources which Professor Clark cites as influencing the heroic drama; and third, the inchoate romance heroine *Parthenissa* had eventually become in the imagination of the playwright a phoenix indeed, from whose ashes arose, in part at least, *Altemera*, the heroine of the first full-fledged English heroic play.

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CONTEMPORARY PAMPHLET BACKGROUNDS FOR MARLOWE'S *THE MASSACRE AT PARIS*

By PAUL H. KOCHER

In contrast to the first six scenes of *The Massacre at Paris*,¹ which are known to have had a contemporary pamphlet source in François Hotman's *A true and plaine report of the furious Outrages of France*,² the subsequent scenes of Marlowe's crude topical drama (written c. 1590) cannot now be traced back to any one specific narrative. If Marlowe relied on any single account for these later scenes, it is indistinguishable among the welter of narrative and polemical pamphlets³ which the bloody progress of French affairs from 1572 to 1589 called forth in both France and England. The loss, if there is one, is not irreparable, however. So close is the generic resemblance underlying many of these pamphlets that by a careful comparison of numerous specimens from the whole field we are able to form a fairly exact idea of the material Marlowe had to work with and, by noting the shape he gives it in his play, to observe his manner of handling it. This, therefore, is the object of the present study. From an examination of some fifty contemporary pamphlets, Protestant and Catholic, French and English, we shall discover that the luridness of Marlowe's drama, both in action and characterization, stems directly from the luridness of typical Protestant interpretation. Thus the characterizations of Navarre, Henry III, Catherine de Medici, and Guise are those dictated by Protestant favor or hostility. Notably, nearly every one of the resounding villainies of Guise is traceable to the rabid anti-Catholic diatribes currently circulating in France and England. Hence it will be necessary to revise the commonly accepted notion that the stage tradition of Machiavellism determined the drawing of his character. With regard to plot, it will be evident that in the last four scenes Marlowe has kept quite close to the facts of French history as the Protestants understood them, whereas in prior scenes he has assumed greater liberty of excision

¹ Textual references throughout are to the edition by H. S. Bennett (London: Methuen, 1931).

² See Bennett's notes, *passim*, and Kocher, "François Hotman and Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*," *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 349-68. That paper treats Scenes I-VI, IX, and the first part of Scene VII of Marlowe's play. The present paper confines itself to the remaining scenes not there treated.

³ I use the term "pamphlets" very broadly to signify all reports and discussions published fairly soon after the events they describe. Only those printed before Marlowe's death are of primary interest for our purposes, but slightly later ones will sometimes be cited as helping to show what ideas were current during the age. Not only English but also French publications must be taken into account, because some of the latter may have reached Marlowe. Moreover, they were often the foundations for English pamphlets.

and reinterpretation. From the whole analysis we shall emerge with a clearer conception of a great playwright's methods of composition, none the less valuable because in this case they happened to result in a play which is anything but great.

I

The pamphlet influence is nowhere more direct than in the climactic scene (XVIII) of the assassination of Guise by order of King Henry III at Blois in December, 1588. As Marlowe tells the story, Guise visits the King to say that he has heard the King is displeased by his great train of attendants, and Henry replies to his "good cousin" and "sweet coz" that he will never believe these whisperers who try to make him suspicious of his "dearest friends." Henry then goes, leaving Guise to exult in dreams of triumph over the King. A few minutes later Guise is stabbed to death by the assassins hidden in the next room. This act of honeyed hypocrisy on Henry's part is a favorite theme of contemporary League pamphlets. *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois* says that Guise heard rumors at Blois of the King's plots and

. . . celà l'occasionna de dire le lendemain au Roy qu'il auoit entendu qu'il luy vouloit mal. . . . Henry de Valois luy respondit adonc: Mō Cousin, croyez vous que i'aye l'ame si meschâte de vous vouloir mal? Au contraire, ie vous declare, qu'il n'y a personne en mon Royaume que i'ayme mieux que vous. . . .⁴

Equally definite is the statement of *Discours deplorabile du meurtre*.⁵

Both these accounts, as well as others, show the deception as occurring some days or weeks before the assassination. Marlowe's placing the hypocritical interview a few minutes before the Duke's death, at a time when he already stands within the jaws of the trap, is clearly intended to give new rapidity, suspense, and irony to the action.

The episode of a warning which Guise contemptuously refuses to heed is also common to the play and to numerous pamphlet narratives. In Marlowe, one of the assassins at the last moment begs the Duke not to go into the next room where the others stand waiting to kill him, but blinded by his scorn of "peasants" Guise passes to his death. There are several variants of this story, none of them exactly like Marlowe's. Antony Colynet writes in his detailed compilation, *The True History of the Civil Warres of France*:

The Kings counsell and determination could not be kept so secret, the King hauing so many Leaguers about him to smell his breath, but the 22. of Decem-

⁴ *La Vie et faits notables de Henry de Valois* (Paris, 1589), pp. 93-94.

⁵ *Discours deplorabile du meurtre et assassinat . . . de . . . feu Henry de Lorraine, Iouxté la copie Imprimé à Orleans* (1588), fol. Bi. Similarly, *Le Martire des deux freres* ([Paris?], 1589), p. 19; *Les Meurs humeurs et comportements de Henry de Valois* (Paris, 1589), p. 30.

ber, as the Duke of Guise had set doune to dinner, he found under his napkin a little bill, wherein was writtten that he should take heede, for they will play a shrewd play with him. In the same bill he wrote with his oune hand a mocking answeere thus. They dare not, and so cast it under the table.⁶

This statement is repeated in *An Historicall Collection* and elsewhere.⁷ *Le Martire des deux freres* is more general:

Neantmoins beaucoup d'aduertissemens furent donnez audit seigneur de Guise . . . de la trahison que ce traistre par son hypocrisie accoustumee leur brassoit & de plusieurs & diuers endroits. . . .⁸

Like other League writings ardently loyal to the Duke's memory, it goes on to say that Guise disregarded these warnings because he could not believe such evil of the King, and because he was unwilling by his departure to break up the proceedings of the Estates General at Blois. The *Histoire au vray du meurtre & assassinat* specifies that the warnings came from some members of the Estates and from the Cardinal of Guise.⁹

There is, then, agreement among representative tracts upon the fact of warning, but none upon the manner of its delivery or the motive for its rejection. Marlowe seems to make a very free adaptation of the Protestant view as it is exemplified in Colynet, quoted above. Apparently he violates all authority in having the appeal come from one of the murderers, and but a minute before the Duke is to be slain. Here again the change is toward what is economical and intense, if rather melodramatic.

It is implicit in what has already been said that Marlowe likewise alters actual time relationships when he depicts the setting of the ambush before Henry's friendly speech and the futile intervention of the assassin. The true sequence of events (herein all treatments are at one) is Henry's show of friendliness and the neglected warning (or vice versa), then the posting of the assassins, and their setting upon Guise as he is about to enter the King's cabinet. But apart from the question of time, Marlowe's description of the hiding of the murderers and their sudden leaping out upon the Duke is authentic in the light of contemporary accounts. The commonly ac-

⁶ "Gathered from the yere of our Lord 1585. untill this present October, 1591" (London, 1591), p. 305.

⁷ *An Historicall Collection of the Most Memorable Accidents, and Tragicall Massacres of France . . . Until this present yeare, 1598* (London, 1598), p. 188. Also in *A General Inventorie of the History of France . . . unto . . . the yeare 1598*, tr. E. Grimeston from the French of Jean de Serres (London, 1607), p. 723.

⁸ P. 23. *Les Meurs . . . de Henry de Valois*, pp. 30-34, is likewise general. *Le Martire des deux freres* and some three or four others of the pamphlets mentioned in the present study have been cited by John Bakeless in his "Christopher Marlowe and the Newsbooks," *Journalism Quarterly*, XIV (March, 1937), 18-22, a brief survey of the subject here dealt with.

⁹ *Histoire au vray du meurtre & assassinat . . . de Monsieur le Duc de Guise* ([Paris?], 1589), pp. 47-48.

cepted statement relates that while Guise was attending a council meeting he was summoned by the King to a private conference in the cabinet adjoining the council chamber; despite premonitions, Guise walked into the antechamber separating the two rooms and there was swiftly poniarded by members of the King's bodyguard stationed in hiding by Loignac, their captain. The details given by *Le Martire des deux freres* are typical:

Au mesme instât huit heures sonnēt, ce fut lors que ce desloial, perfide & cruel tyran, commanda à Reuolt, qui estoit dedās le cabinet, qu'il allast querir mōseigneur de Guyse . . . va au Prince assis au conseil de ses meschans, luy dit que le Roy le demandoit, aussi tost ce Prince part . . . entrant dedans la maudite chābre en laquelle estoit l'execrable cabinet, tenant son chapeau d'une maine, & tenant la tapisserie de la porte dudit cabinet de l'ature . . . six coquins de ses quarante cinq diables . . . les uns luy saisissent les deux bras, autres luy tirent son espee & poignard, un luy lance un coup de poignard dans la gorge, autres de grands coups de dagasses qu'ils auoient nues, souz leurs manteaux. . . .¹⁰

Colynet relates first that early in the morning some gentlemen of Henry's bodyguard had promised him to perform the assassination.

Within a while after, the Duke of Guize being in the counsell chamber before they began to sit, was called to come to the king. He saw at his first comming the guards more carefully disposed than of custome, so that . . . he entred into a motion of extraordinary mistrust . . . so far that his countenance changing at that calling, his heart waxed cold, as though he had been ready to fall into a swoond. . . .

The Duke of Guize being about to goe unto the king, when hee went forth of the counsell chamber into the alley which was betwene it and the kings chamber, encreased his mistrust, and would haue gone back; yet neuerthelesse he did not.

. . . entering into the kings chamber, he saw . . . Lord Loignak sitting upon a coffer, hauing his armes a crosse, and supposing that he stayed there to set upon him (for he shewed that hee was touched with a violent apprehension of mistrust) although the said L. Loignak did not stir: yet the Lord Guize notwithstanding did set upon him, & setting his hand to his sword did draw it halfe . . . before that some of them who were there, seeing him to enterprize such a violent fray at the Kings chamber doore, preuented, and killed him there.¹¹

From these excerpts we can see why Marlowe introduces a "Captain of the Guard," mentions Henry's "royal cabinet," places the killers in "the next room" into which Guise is warned not to go, makes Guise speak of his own premonitory paleness just before his death, and describes his assailants as stabbing him.

¹⁰ P. 28.

¹¹ Pp. 308-09. Colynet is almost alone in showing Guise as the aggressor at the last moment. There is general agreement that he had no chance even to defend himself. See *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, p. 95; *Histoire au vray*, pp. 48-50; *Discours déplorable du meurtre*, fol. Bii^r. Colynet's version is expressly rejected by *An Historicall Collection*, p. 190, as too unfavorable to Guise. At the same place this work relates that just before the murder Guise's nose bled, and he "felt certaine straunge motions at his heart. . . ."

In the drama, Guise is given a dying speech which is completely apocryphal. No pamphlet allows him more than a brief cry to Heaven for mercy, and few permit him any words at all.¹² But Marlowe's great villain defies and curses the Protestant party with his last breath, in the manner of a Barabas. Clearly the device has value for sustaining the character of the Duke and keeping English ears intent.

Guise's final proud boast, "Thus Caesar did go forth and thus he died," is but one of several passages in the play (cf. II, 98; XVI, 55-57; etc.) bringing out the same analogy between Guise and Julius Caesar which League writers were fond of drawing. Bakeless has already well argued that the comparison is not original with Marlowe, and I will add only this auxiliary quotation:

... the League called him [Guise] her Caezar, and made goodly comparisons betweene them. For my part, take away the name of Christian, and I cannot finde so good a comparison . . . as there is betweene the liues of Iulius Caezar, and Henry de Lorraine. . . .¹³

The ensuing point-by-point comparison of the two men runs for four pages, and emphasizes especially the similarity in the manner and setting of their deaths.

As soon as the Duke is safely dead, Marlowe's Henry stands rejoicing over the body, and attributes all the crimes and misfortunes of his reign to the fact that he has been "yok'd" by Guise. "I ne'er was king of France until this hour," he declares in self-vindication. The pamphlet stories are quite similar. *Le Martire des deux freres*:

... ce qu' estât rapporté au tyrā, sort de son dit cabinet, l'espee nuë au poin, aborde ce corps, ja trāssi, & d'une voix trāsportee, & actiō pire que celle d'un demoniacle, frapāt du pied sur l'estomach, sur la gorge, & sur la face de ce pauvre Prince, luy disoit: nous ne sommes plus deux, ie suis Roy maintenāt, & disant ces mots, ce poltron luy lanca un coup d'estoc au trauers du corps. . . .¹⁴

The English piece, *An Excellent Discourse upon the now present estate of France*, treats Henry more favorably than does this indignant League fulmination, but gives him substantially the same words:

¹² *Martire des deux freres*, p. 30, and *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, p. 96, give him such a phrase as "mon Dieu ayez pitié de moy." Colynet and *A General Inventorie* (p. 724) have him die without a word.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 22. The passage quoted is from *An Historicall Collection* (1598), p. 203, which Bakeless refers to but does not quote. It is worth noting incidentally that the request to the dying Guise a few lines earlier in Marlowe's scene that he "ask forgiveness of the king" (XVIII, 75) is a part of the formula used in England at the execution of traitors. The same request was made to Campion and Sherwin (*A Discoverie of Edmund Campion* by A. Munday [London, 1582], fols. G3^r and G4^r) and to Throckmorton (*A Discoverie of the treasons practised . . . by Francis Throckmorton* . . . [London, 1584], fol. C1^r).

¹⁴ P. 30. Narratives equally in point are provided by *Les Cruautez sangui- naires, exercees enuers feu Monseigneur le Cardinal de Guise* . . . ([Paris?], 1589), p. 5; *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, p. 96.

This Prince, who otherwise wanted neither courage, nor iudgement, did no sooner see that his enimie dead, but by and by hee beleaued he had no more enemies in the world, and indeed it is most certaine, that among his familiers, he gaue out these speeches. *This day am I king*, and yet contrariwise euen the same day hee began not to be so.¹⁵

Apparently, the contemporary stories allot Henry no such lengthy harangue as Marlowe writes for him. But Henry's general theme that he has heretofore acted under compulsion by Guise is precisely the position taken by Navarre's party, which never ceased trying to win the King away from the League. It is well stated in a "Lettre du Roi de Navarre au Roi Henri III en Decembre 1585":

Je sçai, Monseigneur, quels ont esté vos premiers Arrests, & jugemens contre la Ligue, quand ils estoient libres, premier que la force & la collusion eussent gagné sur eux. Le changement qui s'est veu depuis, il me seroit mal seant de l'attribuer a vostre volonté. Je l'impute, Monseigneur, a la violence des perturbateurs de cest Estate, & de leurs adherens. . . .¹⁶

To this speech of Henry's Marlowe subjoins a brief episode in which, at the King's command, Guise's son is led in to see his father's body. After vain vituperation and an attempt to throw his dagger at the King, he is sent off to prison. I know of only one pamphlet that pictures such a scene, *Les Cruautez sanguinaires*, but there the resemblance is close:

. . . cela faict, l'on amaine le ieune Prince de Ginnille, auquel semblablement le Roy môstre le corps mort estendu sur la place, dudict sieur de Guise: laquelle veüe saisit tellement le coeur du ieune Prince, qu'il cuida tomber pasmé sur le corps de son pere, quand le Roy le retint, & à l'instât le ieune prince ne pouuant baiser son pere, pour luy dire le dernier a Dieu, commence à vomir une infinité de paroles iniurieuses, cõtre les massacreurs de son pere . . . le Roy lui remist la vie, & toutesfois ordõna que le ieune Prince fust mené au chasteau de Loches, ce qui fut faict.¹⁷

Other accounts say simply that Guise's son was imprisoned after his father's death, without any sight of the corpse.¹⁸ There are others also which tell that the body was exhibited to the Cardinal of Guise or to some of Guise's followers.¹⁹

The end of Marlowe's long Scene XVIII concerns the grief, anger, and despair of the Queen Mother upon learning of the death of her beloved Guise. Henry tells her, "I slew the Guise because I would be king." She then curses him lavishly and receives his defiant retorts.

¹⁵ Translated out of French by E. A. (London, 1592), fol. 2v.

¹⁶ Published in *Memoires de Messire Philippes de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis Marli* . . . (1624), I, 578. M. Hurault, *Anti-Sixtus*, tr. A. P. (London, 1590), pp. 20-21; M. Hurault, *A Discourse upon the present estate of France* (London, 1588), pp. 17-19; and the discussion of Scene XIII and the character of Catherine, *infra*.

¹⁷ P. 11.

¹⁸ Colynet, p. 309; *An Historicall Collection*, p. 192; *Discours deplorable du meurtre*, fol. Bii^v; *Histoire au vray*, p. 52.

¹⁹ *La Vie* . . . de Henry de Valois, p. 97; *Martire des deux freres*, p. 33.

At last, foreseeing the triumph of Protestantism against which she has incessantly schemed, she resolves that "since the Guise is dead, I will not live." We are to infer that she soon afterwards dies, since she is never again mentioned in the drama.

This episode corresponds in essentials with the facts accepted by both Protestants and Leaguers. *A General Inventorie of the History of France*, written by Jean de Serres shortly after 1598, represents Protestant opinion:

The execution done, the King carries newes thereof to the Queene mother. *Madame* (saith he) *I will hereafter raigne aloane, I haue no more companions.* She answered him, *God graunt my sonne it fall out well for you.* . . . This unexpected speech did wonderfully moouue the Queene Mother, but that of the Cardinall of Bourbon gaue her a deadlie wound. . . . She excusing her selfe that shee had neither consented nor giuen Councell in this action, left the Cardinall doubling his complaints, and transported with grieve she died the fift of Ianuary following.²⁰

Le Martire des deux freres speaks for the League:

Après ceste tant poltronne execution acte veritablemēt digne de ce barbare incensé, Il va trouuer la Roynes sa mere, luy disant: qu'il estoit Roy maintenant, & qu'il auoit massacré son compaignō, laquelle (à ce que l'on dit) n'eut gueres agreable ces nouuelles, ains qu'après luy auoit dit mille pōilles, & prophetisé tous les malheurs, qui pour ceste assassinat estoient ja pres à tōber sur sa teste & demāde s'il auoit bien mis ordre à ses affaires, d'autāt que mōsieur de Guise auoit beaucoup d'amis, & ayant ce folastre . . . respondu que ouy, se saisit de telle façon, qu'elle se mist au lit d' où elle n'a depuis releué. . . .²¹

Marlowe exaggerates the enmity between the King and his mother, as well as the intimacy between the latter and the Guise.

Scene XIX deals with the strangling of the Cardinal of Lorraine²² by two murderers acting for the King, who has previously (XVIII,

²⁰ P. 725. In the same way, *An Historical Collection*, p. 193, links Catherine's death with her grief at the reproaches of the Cardinal of Bourbon. Colynet, p. 311, assigns no cause of her death, and says she recognized the justice of killing Guise.

²¹ P. 35. *Histoire au vray*, pp. 51, 59, gives practically the same details and adds this interesting bit: "À l'instant de la mort de mondit sieur de Guise, les plus aduisez à la Cour disoyent que la Roynes mere ne viuroit plus gueres: d'autant que le Roy s'estoit imprimé qu'elle aymoit monsieur de Guise, & qu'elle estoit chef & auoit aydē à pratiquer la Ligue." This is like Marlowe in saying that Catherine loved Guise, but unlike him in hinting that the King killed her.

²² Marlowe has in his play only one Cardinal, whom he always calls the Cardinal of Lorraine and describes as the brother of Dumaine and Guise (e.g., I, 48; XI, 55). In point of fact, the title by which this man was known was Louis, Cardinal of Guise, whereas the title Cardinal of Lorraine had been borne by his uncle Charles, who died in 1574. Until the time of his death, the latter was the moving spirit of the house of Guise and co-intriguer with the Queen Mother. It is a question whether Marlowe's confusion of the two men is intentional or unintentional. If it was intentional, it would be in order to avoid bringing too individuals on the stage when one would do just as well for the purposes of the play. On the other hand, it then becomes awkward to call "young" in 1588 (XVIII, 128) the same Cardinal who had been a leader at the time of the St. Bartholomew massacre, sixteen years earlier.

128, 132-33) expressed fear that "this young cardinal that is grown so proud" will take the place of his dead brother, the Duke. The pamphlet report nearest Marlowe's is Colynet's:

. . . many haue thought that the sauing of the life of the Cardinall of Guize, might haue been easily obtained. But as a haughtie courage . . . cannot easily quiet himselfe . . . So this man . . . could not quiet himselfe, but by hot words hee threatned, to performe more thē euer his brother entended, whose chiefest setter on he was. . . .

So that the King seeing his threatnings . . . caused him the same day to bee strangled as it is reported, with a tippet of silke. . . .²³

Martine Mar-Sixtus likewise speaks of "the late Cardinall of Lorraine shamefully strangled with a corde. . . ." ²⁴ *An Historicall Collection* (1598) says that the King was advised to kill the Cardinal on the ground that "the Cardinall of Guise would succeed in the credit of his brother, and that hee had alreadie used threatning speeches," but avers that he was slain with rapiers and daggers, not strangled.²⁵ Some League writers reject the story of strangulation in favor of the one just given;²⁶ others combine the two in a multiple method of death, as in the second quotation given below. Another element in Marlowe's scene, the Cardinal's insistence that as a churchman he should be immune, is perhaps owed to the stress laid by League authors on this immunity and their horror at its violation. *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois* is typical in relating that when the King ordered the gentlemen of his bodyguard to murder the Cardinal:

. . . ils le refuserent faire, disant qu'il estoit personne sacree; a cause dequoy il en bailla la charge au Capitaine Gast, lequel y enuoya de ses soldats, qui executerent cet horrible massacre. . . .²⁷

Le Martire des deux freres adds the detail, found also in Marlowe, that the assassins mocked their victim:

. . . avec rudes paroles, en se mocquât de luy, luy dirēt Cardinal il faut mourir, & le prenant luy mirent un cordeau au col. . . . Ce Prince agenouillé cōtre une muraille auquel à grand peine permirent-il dire une seule oraison . . . tirant le cordeau que ja ils luy auoient mis au col, luy lancent plusieurs coups de poignards, & d'allebardes au trauers de son sacré corps. . . .²⁸

²³ P. 312.

²⁴ *Martine Mar-Sixtus. A second replie against . . . Sixtus the fift* (London, 1591), fol. E4^v.

²⁵ P. 194.

²⁶ *Cruauté plus que barbare infidelement perpetree . . .* ([Paris?], 1588), single sheet; *Histoire au vray*, p. 60.

²⁷ P. 98. Also *Suitte des cruautés sanguinaires exercees enuers feu Monseigneur le Cardinal de Guyse*, Prins sur les Coupiés Imprimés a Paris (1589), fol. 2. Rejection of the plea of clerical immunity for the Cardinal is voiced on behalf of the King in *Aduise giuen by a Catholicke Gentleman*, tr. I. Eliote (London, 1589), pp. 17-20. That would, of course, be the English view of the case.

²⁸ P. 40.

Marlowe, of course, treats the idea of clerical exemption derisively, and as usual the specific words of the dialogue are of his own making.

Scene XX opens with a promise of vengeance by Dumaine, brother of the murdered Duke. No such speech is recorded in the pamphlets, but it is a general representation of the historical fact, almost universally dwelt upon by them, that after the execution of Guise at Blois, Dumaine became head of the League and led it in a war of vengeance against the King. His speech in Marlowe's play contains a reference to a plot by Henry to have him put to death by "the governor of Orleans" just after the assassinations of his two brothers. This has support in the current narratives, except that the scene of the attempt on Dumaine's life was Lyons, not Orleans. The *Histoire au vray* reads:

. . . Dom Bernadin de Mendoça, Ambassadeur pour le Roy Catholique, enuoya en toute diligence à Lyon, aduertir Monsieur de Mayenne d'une si insigne & execrable cruauté, afin qu'il sauuast sa personne, & se tinst sur ses gardes. Le courrier de l'Ambassadeur fait tant grand deuoir, qu'il arriua une heure ou deux auant celuy du Roy, qui portoit lettres à Gadagne Seneschal de Lyon, & aux habitants de ladite ville; par lesquelles sa Majesté leur commandoit expressément qu'ils eussent à se saisir de la personne dudit Sieur de Mayenne: Et peu apres couroit Alphonse Corse, qui auoit charge de l'assassiner.²⁹

Since all histories that contain the incident give Lyons instead of Orleans,³⁰ Marlowe probably misread his source. Some sort of textual confusion resulting from similarity of sound is also possible but not very probable, because the error happens twice in the octavo.

Dumaine's speech is interrupted by the entrance of a friar, who, after delivering the news that the Cardinal has lately been strangled, describes himself to Dumaine as "of the order of the Jacobins" and offers to assassinate the King, partly because his conscience requires it and partly because "I have been a great sinner in my days, and the deed is meritorious." Although skeptical about the Friar's ability to get access to the King, Dumaine proposes further discussion of the plan. When, therefore, the Friar commits the crime in the next scene, we know that Dumaine is behind it. Most of these details are vouched for in the contemporary literature. *Martine Mar-Sixtus* scoffs at the excuse of conscience and castigates the evil life of Henry's murderer:

. . . how should wee thinke that he was stirred up to this act by any secret instinct and zeale of conscience, in whose life did neuer appeare any sparke of conscience or religion . . . for life and conversation (I shame to tell it)

²⁹ P. 57.

³⁰ E. g., *An Excellent Discourse*, fol. 21^v; *The History of the Life of the Duke of Espenon* by G. Girard, tr. C. Cotton (London, 1670), p. 106; J. A. De Thou, *Histoire universelle* (London, 1734), X, 474.

what was he but a most impure and lecherous Satyr? how oft was he traced and found, and fetcht out of the Stewes?³¹

It was a common gird at the Catholics, used here by Marlowe, that they taught that assassination of rulers dangerous to the Church was "meritorious," in the sense that it would earn the assassin a place in Heaven. Thus the *Contre-League*:

You promise saluation, you make them to beleue that death for such matters is martirdome: that to murther a king, or prince, or other necessarie mēber of the cōmōwealth is meritorious, and at the latter day enioyeth glorie with Iesus Christ.³²

In the specific case of the slaying of Henry III, the League writers were very careful to say that the slayer, Friar Jacques Clement, acted on his own initiative and without consulting the League leaders, whereas Protestant writers held that Clement had either been solicited by the League or had at least received aid from it after conceiving in his own mind the plan of assassination.³³ Marlowe adopts this second form of the Protestant position.

Scene XX, just discussed, is a composite of events occurring at Lyons, where Dumaine learned of Guise's death, and at Paris, where Clement's conspiracy was formed. Scene XXI has a single definite locale: the suburbs of St. Cloud outside Paris. There we see that Henry and Navarre, reconciled at last, have joined armies to besiege Paris, the headquarters of the League. Marlowe does not tell us how this union, so desired by the Protestants, came about, but leaves us to infer, what is indeed the historical fact, that after Henry broke with the League he needed Navarre's help. The negotiations which led to the peace between the two kings are detailed by Colynet and others.³⁴ Upon this scene of amity in the drama enters Friar Clement, craving access to Henry in order to deliver a letter from "the President of Paris." Epernoun scents danger, but Henry declares that "our friars are holy men" and permits Clement's approach, merely asking him first, "Friar, thou dost acknowledge me thy king?" and receiving an affirmative reply. While the King is reading the letter, the Friar

³¹ Fol. D1^r. The vicious past of the friar is also mentioned by Colynet, p. 402; *De Cade . . . Henrici Tertii* (Oxoniae, 1589), fol. A4^r; Hurault, *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 38. League writers, on the contrary, discovered nothing but saintliness in him: *Discours aux Francois, sur l'admirable accident de la mort de Henry de Valois* (Paris, 1589), p. 14.

³² *Contre-League*, tr. E. A. (London, 1589), p. 52. See also *An Advertisement from a French Gentleman* (London, 1585), p. 51, and the citations given in Bennett's edition of the play. Specifically, Protestants believed that the murderer of Henry III was canonized by the Catholics: Du Bartas, *A Canticle of the Victorie obtained by . . . Henric the Fourth*, at *Ivry*, tr. J. Sylvester (London, 1590), p. 14; Colynet, p. 403.

³³ Catholic opinion: *Discours aux Francois*, pp. 14-17; *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, fol. N4^r. Protestant opinion: Colynet, pp. 400-02; *A General Inventorie*, p. 736; *An Historicall Collection*, p. 224.

³⁴ Colynet, pp. 362-88; *Memoires of De Mornay*, I, 896 ff.

stabs him with a poisoned knife; with the same knife the King then kills the Friar.

Here Marlowe is keeping very close to the known facts. He attributes the ease of Clement's admission to the King to Henry's fondness for friars, as did most Protestant commentators. The *Anti-Sixtus* charges that the League selected a friar as assassin for that very reason:

Amongst them al . . . is found Clement . . . a Friar Jacobin . . . knowing that Friars, but chiefly those of his order, had alwaies had a free acces unto his Maiesty, wher other verie seldome were admitted but at certaine howrs.⁸⁵

Colynet similarly says that the League chiefs

. . . aduising themselves of the Kings more then superstitious heart, concluded to make choyse of some saucie desperat wretch, who couered with a cloake of hypocrisie, might pearce through all the gardes of the Kings house without any suspition or examination.⁸⁶

The reason Marlowe has Henry take the precaution of asking, "Friar, thou dost acknowledge me thy king?" is that the Sorbonne had recently declared Henry no longer king,⁸⁷ and Henry wishes to test his visitor's loyalty. The letter carried by the Friar purports to come from "the President of Paris." Colynet (p. 404) makes it clear that the reference is to "the first President of the Senate named the President Harlay," one of the King's party at that time held in prison in Paris, some of whose letters the League procured for Clement. His title sometimes took the form, "President of Paris,"⁸⁸ as given by Marlowe, so that there is no error by the dramatist on this point. Compare Colynet's recital (p. 406) of the murder with Marlowe's:

. . . The Friar making a low and humble reuerence, euen to the ground, gaue the King the letter, which he said came from the first president of Paris: which letters when the King had read, asked the Friar what newes hee brought from Paris: the Frier answered that hee had matters of great importance to declare unto him. . . .

The Frier drew nigh to the King, and falling upon his knees, began to tell a tale: the King stouping somewhat lowe, to heare what the Frier was about to say, gaue more attendance to his words than to his fingers. The Frier drawing softly his knife out of his sleeue, stabbed the King therewith in the lower part of the belly. . . .

The King amazed at the suddaine and unexpected stroak, cried out, and laying hand upon a dagger that lay nere him, stroak the Frier, who partly for the blow, & partly for feare, fell presently down. Upon this noyse, the Lordes came running into the Kings chamber, and after many woundes slew that cursed Frier.

⁸⁵ P. 37.

⁸⁶ P. 400. Equivalent passages are in *Martine Mar-Sixtus*, fol. El^v, and *A General Inventorie*, p. 736.

⁸⁷ *An Excellent Discourse*, fol. 17; *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 34; *Discours aux Francois*, p. 11; Colynet, pp. 348-49.

⁸⁸ In addition to the next quotation from Colynet, see De Mornay's *Memoires*, III, Supplement, p. 85, where there is a "Lettre de Monseigneur le Comte de Soissons a M. le premier President de Paris, en Octobre 1587."

Colynet has previously described the knife as poisoned.³⁹ One notices, however, that he does not say, as Marlowe does, that Henry struck Clement with the same knife. That statement is made by many pamphlets, *An Historicall Collection* (1598) among them:

The Moonk . . . drew out of one of [his] sleeces a paper which he presented to the K. & out of y^e other a knife, with which violētly he sheathed a thrust within y^e kings small ribs, he being attentiuē to reade, & who perceiuing himself wounded, plucked y^e knife out of the wound, wherewith he strooke y^e Monke about the eie, & therupō some Gentlemē came runing in, who . . . killed the murtherer with their swords. . . .⁴⁰

I have not found any accounts in which the King's unaided blows kill the Friar, or in which the latter invokes his patron saint, as in Marlowe. These are pretty clearly the dramatist's own touches.

Marlowe's scene continues with the wounded Henry's exclamations at the "irreligious pagans' parts" played by Catholic churchmen in the attack on his life; he swears to destroy "that wicked Church of Rome, / That hatcheth up such bloody practices." These are reflections of the widespread Protestant attitude that the Roman See was ultimately responsible for the murder of the French king. Nor would this attitude be inconsistent, in Elizabethan eyes, with placing responsibility also on the League, inasmuch as they believed the Pope and the League were inseparable companions in evil. *Martine Mar-Sixtus* first condemns the murder of Henry by the monk as "a deede prophane and irreligious" and later addresses the Pope directly:

I apeale to thine oune conscience, when the first relation of the Guize his death was made, when the first newes were brought, didst thou not then voy thy selfe to auenge it? Didst thou not afterward continue the meanes to work it? Didst thou not encourage the Leaguers to it? Didst thou not promise a perpetuall pardon to him that should attempt it?⁴¹

This sort of opinion justified Marlowe in making the dying Guise cry, "Ah, Sixtus, be reveng'd upon the king!" (XVIII, 82).

Marlowe does not fail to draw the obvious parallel between the French regicide and the English conspiracies against the life of Elizabeth in which the Jesuits, set on by the Pope, were believed to have the principal hand. Henry's summoning of the English agent so that he may bear to Elizabeth a "warning of her treacherous foes," his phrase about her hatred of papistry, and the like, are all palpable allusions to the English scene for the benefit of an English audience. To a degree, Marlowe seems to have had pamphlet authority for this message to the English agent, as may be seen in *An Historicall Collection* (1598):

³⁹ P. 405. Several other accounts agree that the knife was envenomed, e.g., *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 38; *Discours aux Francois*, p. 17; *Martine Mar-Sixtus*, fol. E4^r.

⁴⁰ P. 225. *A General Inventorie*, p. 736; *Discours aux Francois*, p. 20; *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, fol. N2^r.

⁴¹ Fols. C1^r and E2^v. See *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 39; Colynet, *passim*; *The Brutish Thunderbolt . . . of Pope Sixtus the fifth*, tr. C. Fetherstone (London, 1586), pp. 144, 171; *De Caede . . . Henrici Tertii*, fol. A2^v.

... the same day he [Henry] procured writing and aduise to bee giuen of this attempt, as also of the hope of his healing and recouerie, as well to the Gouernours of Prouinces, as to Princes straungers, his friends, and allies.⁴²

From this passage, and from the one next quoted below, we note also that Marlowe had reason to make Henry say "I hope to live," judging his wound at first to be not mortal.⁴³ But the emphasis which the playwright gives throughout the scene to the English application of the situation certainly does no little violence to both probability and truth of fact. This, of course, is very common practice in Elizabethan drama.

A more defensible bit of dramatic license occurs in Marlowe's putting Navarre on the stage at the beginning of the scene and keeping him there throughout. The fact was, as all reports agree, that he was sent for by Henry as soon as the wound had been inflicted:

Et reprenant coeur, il fait mine de se resiouir, enuoye vers le Roy de Nauarre (lequel peu auparauant l'estoit venu voir, & ne la veu que ceste seule fois iusques à sa mort) il le prie de n' apprehender sa blessure, que ce ne seroit rien, qu'il seroit bien tost guery, & qu'en brief il monteroit à cheual.⁴⁴

This excerpt from a League pamphlet well shows how careful the League was to make it plain that the two kings had no long conversation before Henry's death, and particularly that Henry did not publicly declare Navarre his heir.⁴⁵ The point was important to the League's contention that Navarre had no right to succeed to the throne of France. The Protestants, on the contrary, all asserted that before he died Henry made a public statement affirming Navarre's title and requiring all Frenchmen to accept him as king.⁴⁶ Marlowe very emphatically takes the Protestant position. His Henry says, "O, no, Navarre! thou must be king of France!" and urges his assembled nobles—

My lords,
Fight in the quarrel of this valiant prince,
For he's your lawful king, and my next heir. . . .
(XXI, 91-93)

Colynet (p. 407) narrates the events similarly:

The King hauing made an end of his praiers, sendeth for his brother the King of Nauarre, and for the chiefest Lords of his court . . . but specially

⁴² P. 225. Cf. also the next quotation from Colynet, p. 407, below.

⁴³ The same idea appears very commonly, e.g., *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, fol. N3^v; *A General Inventorie*, p. 736; *Life of Espernon*, p. 116.

⁴⁴ *Discours aux Francois*, p. 22; *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 55.

⁴⁵ *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, fol. N3^v ff.

⁴⁶ *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 55; *Martine Mar-Sixtus*, fol. F2^v; *An Historicall Collection*, p. 225; *A General Inventorie*, p. 736; H. C. Davila, *The Historie of the Civill Warres of France*, tr. from Italian by W. Aylesbury (London, 1647), p. 818.

for the heads of the strangers, to the intent that . . . they might knowe his last will.

First, speaking to the King of Nauarre, commended unto him the charge of his Realme, the gouernement of his subiects, the lawes of France. . . .

To the rest of Princes, Lords and Noblemen he signified, that the lawfull succession of the royall state of France, fell not to any other then to the person of Bourbon, and declared at that time the King of Nauarre first successor. . . .

Marlowe omits what Colynet and other Protestant writers include, the fact that Henry confessed his sins to a priest before he died. Probably the motive was to keep Henry before the English audience in as favorable a light as possible. He also omits Henry's instructions to Navarre about the religious problem in France, variously reported by various sources.

In the play Henry asks Navarre and Epernoun to avenge his death upon Paris and upon the Catholics generally. It is stated in *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*: ". . . il a prié le Roy de Nauarre de se vanger de la ville de Paris, laquelle luy auoit machiné ceste mort. . . ." ⁴⁷ And *Martine Mar-Sixtus*:

. . . hee bequeathed the succession of his Kingdome to Nauarra . . . and euen at the last point and gaspe, he coniured both him and such like as were about him, to take vengeance of those whome he suspected to be the authors of his death. . . . ⁴⁸

Marlowe's play ends with Navarre's resolution to take this vengeance on Rome. Behind this lies the savage elation expressed in Protestant tracts at what Navarre will probably do to the Papacy after his accession. Thus *Martine Mar-Sixtus*:

Did Charles of Burbon lay siege to Rome? did he sack your citie? and cause your Pope to be led as prisoner? Take heede of Henry of Burbon; the house belike is fatall: beside, I tell ye it is ominous that the conductor of your League the Duke of Guize was slayne upon Nauarraes birth-day . . . as if the exaltation of y^e house of Burbon should be the ruine of Romish Leaguers and of Rome, which God in his good time will accomplish. . . . ⁴⁹

All told, these four concluding scenes of the play bear the unmistakable impress of strong and direct pamphlet influence. Protestant ideas are usually accepted, but it seems possible to trace League suggestions in some details.

⁴⁷ Fol. N4r.

⁴⁸ Fol. B4r and fol. F2r. Similarly Colynet, p. 407, and *A General Inventorie*, p. 736. But *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 55, asserts that Henry forgave everybody before he died.

⁴⁹ Fol. F4r. The same threat is voiced in *The Reformed Politicke* by Jean de Fregeville (London, 1589), p. 87; *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 56; and in numerous other works.

II

An examination of Scenes VII to XVII yields rather different results.⁵⁰ The presence of pamphlet materials is still discernible, but it is much more blurred and harder to decipher. In a series of jerky scenes, Marlowe moves rapidly down the main thoroughfare of French history from 1573 to 1588. Those scenes which describe a specific event, such as the coronation of Henry III, are usually lacking in anything resembling the detail brought over from current tracts for the final four scenes, as just studied. Others are vague summaries of the developments of years. In increasing degree, Marlowe remains faithful to truth of fact only in the large. The difference is no doubt partly due to the difficulty inherent in making any survey of so long and complex a period. It is also in part the result of the sketchiness of the literature dealing with the years 1573 to 1589, which could not compete in circumstantiality and mass with the popular literature brought out by such spectacular crises as the murders of Guise and Henry III. Furthermore, we may suspect that our text of Marlowe's drama for these intermediary scenes is even more corrupt than for the concluding scenes.

Scene VII affords a good example of this greater looseness of treatment. In it, Anjou makes a statement to two Polish ambassadors, accepting their offer of the crown of Poland but stipulating that if the French throne falls to him he shall have the right to return to France. Because of the position of this scene between Scenes VI and VIII, which relate incidents of the St. Bartholomew massacre, we must suppose that it takes place in Paris at the end of August, 1572. In point of fact, as all contemporary versions state, the Polish ambassadors did not enter France until July, 1573. They encountered Anjou besieging Rochelle and then went with him to Paris, where the final negotiations were conducted.⁵¹ The only explanation I can suggest for Marlowe's pushing the scene forward in time is that it is thus more effectively separated from Anjou's return from Poland to the throne of France, which was soon to be dramatized in Scene XI. The express condition made by Anjou that he be released if his brother Charles died is also a radical departure from accepted fact. Most pamphlets say nothing about any such condition, and declare that Anjou secretly fled from Poland when the news of Charles' death reached him.⁵² A few, like the *Lyfe . . . of Katherine de Medicis*, even say that the Polish ambassadors exacted from him an oath to the contrary:

⁵⁰ For Scenes I to VI, IX, and the first part of VIII, consult the earlier paper "François Hotman and Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*" already referred to.

⁵¹ E. g., N. Barnaud (pseud. Eusebe Philadelphie Cosmopolite), *Le Reveille-Matin des Francois . . .* (Edinburgh, 1574), Dialogue II, pp. 152 ff.; *An Historical Collection*, p. 293.

⁵² *Les Meurs humeurs et comportements de Henry de Valois*, p. 9. Cf. De Thou, *Histoire universelle*, VII, 72, 273-74.

Also ther was no likelihood of the king of Pooles speedy retorn, for the Poloners had before his coronation forced him to sweare, that upon no occasion what soeuer, yea in case the king his brother died, yet should not he in any wise forsake thē.⁵³

Anjou's speech in the drama, then, looks very much like a flat fabrication designed by Marlowe to help give his character a much-needed rehabilitation after his evil share in St. Bartholomew. He was to become a chief adversary of Guise and to die a hero. The ground must be prepared for so violent a shift in the sympathies of the audience. The reader will judge how successful Marlowe has been in this undertaking.

Omitting Scene IX and the first part of Scene VIII as containing St. Bartholomew material which does not concern us here, we now come to the last part of Scene VIII and the whole of Scene X, dealing with the events of the years 1573-74. Struck with repentance for the great massacre, Charles IX vows to Navarre to see justice done on its perpetrators. Catherine confides to the Cardinal of Lorraine her purpose to kill Charles and install Anjou on the throne, while she herself would remain the real ruler of the kingdom (VIII, 31-46). In Scene X, Charles dies of poison, whereupon Catherine sends messengers to recall Anjou from Poland. For these interpretations Marlowe had ample warrant in contemporary printed materials. Many tales were current that Charles had been poisoned, and not a few of them alleged Catherine's guilt.

It is certainly reported, that the Queene sayde to Henry, beeing very carefull cōcerning his departure, *Be of good cheere, only goe, thou shalt not remayne long in Polonia*. By the rumor heereof, many thought that the Queene meant little good unto the King, and that hereof that euill which happened within a while after unto him proceeded. . . . Yea, it is most certayne, that the Queene was so addicted unto hir sonne Henry, that she hated hir other two sonnes . . . he [Charles] fel sicke of a soare feuer at Vitri a toune in Cham-paigne: most menne thinking that he was poysoned.⁵⁴

Reports were also current that Charles had determined to punish those who were responsible for the St. Bartholomew shambles. *An Historicall Collection* (1598):

If he had liued longer, it is without all doubt, that the Councellours of the massacre had receiued their reward from him, his heart was so much mooued against them, so that he could not chuse but utter his mind therein to some about him in the Court, whom hee knew to bee utter enemies to such iniustice: and thereof wrote letters out of the Realme.⁵⁵

⁵³ Henri Estienne's *A Mervaylous discourse upon the lyfe, deedes, and behaiours of Katherine de Medicis, Queene mother* (Heydelberge [London?], 1575), p. 139; *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, p. 15.

⁵⁴ Jean de Serres, *The Fourth parte of Cōmentaries of the ciuill warres in Fraunce*, tr. T. Tymme (London, 1576), Bk. XII, p. 125. *Lyfe . . . of K. de Medicis*, p. 179, and De Thou, VII, 23, also strongly hint at Catherine's poisoning of Charles. M. W. Freer, *Henry III* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1858), I, 248, declares that this belief was held by many sixteenth-century historians.

⁵⁵ P. 301. To the same effect, *A General Inventorie*, p. 663, and the memoirs

Well established, moreover, was Marlowe's point that Catherine was chiefly instrumental in holding the throne for Anjou until he could return from Poland.⁶⁶ Marlowe explains that her aim was to put in power a son whom she could easily wrest to her will. As we shall see later, this was the most prevalent conception of her motives among the Protestant party.

Immediately after the death of Charles in the drama, Navarre decides that for his own safety he must steal away from France to his kingdom of Navarre, there to raise an army with which to oppose any attempt of Guise and Philip of Spain to cut him off as heir to the new king, Henry III (X, 30-52). Navarre's escape from custody at court, which took place in 1576, is thus squeezed into the same scene with the death of Charles, an event of 1574. In addition, the Duke of Alençon, who was alive in 1576, is conveniently forgotten in order that Navarre may say of the crown, "It is my due, by just succession" (X, 35). Not until Alençon's death in 1584 did Navarre become the next heir. However, the motives ascribed by Marlowe to Navarre seem correct, according to Protestant opinion. The *Letter, written by a french Catholicke gentleman* (perhaps French, but certainly not Catholic) argues:

He speaketh of the yeare 76. who knoweth not . . . that contrariwise the king of Nau. during all these drifts, was at the court, from whence hee withdrew himselfe to go into his countries, as perceiuing that his life dayly hunge up by a twine threed?⁶⁷

But Navarre did not in fact go to his kingdom immediately or muster up an army of his own. He joined Condé and Alençon. Marlowe seems rather to be looking forward in a general way to the civil wars after 1585 than to be referring to any one immediate development.

Scene XI presents the coronation of Henry III at Rheims in February, 1585. Catherine's welcome to the new king and Henry's address promising unfailing love to his mignons have no basis in strict fact.⁶⁸ The same is even more emphatically true of the cutpurse episode, which may have come from some contemporary jestbook.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the mignon speech just mentioned has the function of foreshadowing what was to be a very important element in the

of Navarre's friend and adviser, Sully: *Memoirs of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully* (London: J. Rivingston, 1788), I, 38 and 42. Cf. Freer, *op. cit.*, I, 248.

⁶⁶ E. g., *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, p. 13; *A General Inventorie*, pp. 661-63; De Thou, VII, 71.

⁶⁷ London, 1589, p. 44.

⁶⁸ The nearest account to Marlowe's I have met with is that in *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, p. 27, describing Henry during his coronation as "regardant ses Mignons ça & là, faisant quelques gestes mal propres & petulèts, ressentans son orgueil. . . ." Other pamphlets do not mention the presence of the mignons at all.

⁶⁹ See Bennett, p. 217.

political struggles of Henry's reign—his doting favoritism. The secret conference between the Cardinal and the Queen Mother which closes this scene is one of those résumés of a long-term development of which I have already spoken. It refers not to any specific actual meeting but to the alliance which Protestants believed to have existed for many years between the Queen Mother and the faction of the Guises, as will be shown below.

The Cardinal's allusion to the gathering of an army by "my brother Guise" for use against the House of Bourbon may be merely to the League armies in general which followed Guise after 1585. Or, more probably, it may mean specifically the first formation of the Holy League of Picardy in 1576. The Cardinal's description of the ostensible purposes of the army as being "to kill the Puritans" and act "for his country's good, / And common profit of religion" corresponds roughly to the announced aims of the League. *A General Inventorie* says,

The articles of this association were first drawn at Peronne in Picardie: but disguised with goodly shewes, to blind them that would examine them more exactly: which were to maintaine the Law of God, to restore the holy seruice thereof: To preserue the King and his Successours in the Estate, dignitie, seruice, and obedience due unto him by his subiects: To restore unto the Estates of the Realme, their rights, preheminences, and ancient liberties.⁶⁰

The fact that a few lines later Alençon is spoken of as still alive tends to bear out this suggestion that reference is intended to an event of 1576, not of the years after 1585.

Scene XII introduces the theme of the illicit love of the Duchess of Guise for Mugeroun, which leads to a quarrel between Guise and Henry in Scene XIV and the assassination of Mugeroun by Guise's hireling in Scene XVII. Either Marlowe did not know that this episode actually happened in 1581, or he chose to be more than ordinarily ruthless with chronology, because he put into Scenes XIII and XV material having to do with the battle of Coutras in October, 1587, and so destroyed the temporal unity of the episode completely. Perhaps he felt that the resulting mixture would help to give interest to the battle sequences, and effectively prolong the attention to Guise's revenge as well. With regard to the characters, several scholars have already pointed out that Marlowe was wrong in designating Mugeroun as the lover of the Duchess: Saint-Megrin was the man.⁶¹ This looks like another case in which Marlowe worked too hurriedly and forgot his source.

In the background of this episode lies the mortal opposition between the League and the mignons as a group. The latter had earned many foes in all classes by their pride, luxuriousness, and vice. The

⁶⁰ P. 681. See also Colynet, p. 6.

⁶¹ Bennett, p. 220.

League demanded their removal.⁶² According to his custom, Marlowe waives all the broader phases of the issue and treats it only in the aspect of a personal quarrel between Guise and Mugeroun over the Duchess. Strangely enough, the story of this amour seems to have been an obscure one even in Marlowe's time. For reasons which will soon be apparent I am convinced that Marlowe had some contemporary account of it in front of him while he wrote, but I am unable to discover any detailed version of it earlier than about 1610. This is the cautious narrative of J. A. De Thou published among the "Restitutions" to Livre Soixante-Quatorzième of his *Histoire universelle*:

On comptoit alors au nombre des mignons, Paul Stuart de Caussade, Comte de S. Megrin. . . . Le Roi ne l'aimoit pas seulement, parce qu'il étoit de toutes ses débauches: il avoit encore sçu plaire à ce Prince par le commerce qu'il entretenoit, disoit-on, avec une Dame de la première condition, qui avoit épousé un Seigneur de la Cour à qui Henri ne vouloit pas de bien. Ce Seigneur étoit très-puissant; & le Monarque se croyoit bien vengé des outrages qu'il en avoit reçus par la revanche qu'en prenoit S. Megrin en le deshonorant, & par les railleries qu'il faisoit lui-même de cette intrigue, lorsqu'il se trouvoit avec ses favoris. . . . Charle de Lorraine Duc de Mayenne, qui avoit avec lui des liaisons fort étroites, fut celui qui crut devoir se charger de le venger. Dans cette vûë il apostâ quelques assassins pour tuer S. Megrin. . . . Ce gentilhomme ne tarda pas à être instruit du dessein du Duc de Mayenne; le Roi lui-même en étoit informé; & S. Megrin voulant se retirer un soir fort tard, ce Prince lui fit toutes les instances possibles pour l'obliger à coucher au Louvre. Mais les prières du Monarque . . . ne servirent qu'à l'animer davantage, à mépriser le danger & à courir à sa perte. Il répondit d'un air de mépris, que si ces Eunuques, c'est ainsi qu'il appelloit les Lorrains, osoient seulement l'attaquer, il sçauroit bien leur faire sentir qu'il étoit homme. A ces mots il sortit du Louvre; & à peine avoit-il fait quelques pas, qu'il se vit chargé par les assassins . . . il fut percé de plusieurs coups mortels, & laissé pour mort sur la place.⁶³

The nineteenth-century English historian Martha W. Freer relates substantially the same facts but adds, from what sources I do not know, the particulars that the King circulated letters said to have been exchanged between Madame de Guise and Saint-Megrin, and

⁶² The virulence of League enmity is disclosed in such publications as *Les Meurs humeurs et comportements de Henry de Valois* (pp. 21, 89 ff.) and *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois* (pp. 37, 53 ff.), which spread tales of riot and homosexuality. In its public demands that the mignons be dismissed, the League charged waste of public funds, giving of bad counsel to the King, displacing of the older nobility by these upstarts, and the like. The issue was useful to the League in undermining public confidence in the King. Protestants, on the other hand, were faintly apologetic for the mignons, hoping thus to woo Henry away from the League. See *An Advertisement from a French Gentleman*, p. 39, and "Remonstrance aux trois estats de France sur la guerre de la Ligue, faite . . . l'an 1587," *Memoires of De Mornay*, I, 723. It is hard to say how Marlowe wishes us to feel about the mignons—probably mildly favorable, certainly anti-Guise.

⁶³ The London edition of 1734, VIII, 716-18.

that Guise had a private meeting with his wife in which he terrified her into better behavior.⁶⁴

Here, then, are all of Marlowe's essential points—the fierce interview between Guise and his Duchess, the love letters, Henry's coarse gibing about the affair, the vengeance taken on the lover, and Henry's vain warnings to his favorite to mark the danger. Evidently Marlowe is not spinning the tale out of his own head. The documents consulted by De Thou and Freer, whatever they were, seem at least cousins-german to those used by Marlowe, and they may even have been the same.

We now come to the preparations for the battle of Coutras (Scene XIII), culminating in the defeat of the royal forces by Navarre (Scene XV). The odium for the attack on Navarre is placed on Guise, who is said to have "incens'd the king" against the Protestants, whereas Navarre acts purely in self-defense. Marlowe is here following the usual Protestant argument. The *Letter, written by a french Catholicke gentleman* presents it as follows:

The Guizians do causeles assaile the king of Nauarre and his partakers: and there is nothing so naturall or so privileged as to defende a mans oune selfe . . . [p. 66] . . . the king undoubtedly was either surprised or forced, considering that not past three weekes before he had detested those of the league . . . & now all at once . . . they see him in armes against those whom before he would haue preserued, who also had most faithfully serued him against his enemies.⁶⁵

The Restorer of the French Estate similarly complains to Henry III:

What iniury haue your Princes and your cousins done you, that you are so moued against them, sauing that they stepped backe like faithfull vassals, when you would haue smitten them at the instigation of strangers? they haue in as modest maner as naturall defense would permit them put of the blowes of your armies guided and set on by straungers their enimies. . . .⁶⁶

Both quotations concern Henry's union with the League in 1585. Fighting broke out with Navarre's forces in 1586, but not until 1587 did the King dispatch a large army against him under the generalship of Joyeux, one of hisignons. It is of the approach of this army that the Messenger warns Navarre: "A mighty army comes from France with speed" (XIII, 28). The King's loving farewell to Joyeux is briefly pictured in Scene XIV. Again a typical pamphlet narrative is Colynet's (p. 154), who remarks that "to please the

⁶⁴ *Henry III*, II, 200-03. The only sixteenth-century reference I have seen, and that a very cryptic and brief one, to the death of Saint-Megrin is in the *Contre-Guyse* (London, 1589), fol. C4r.

⁶⁵ P. 65.

⁶⁶ London, 1589, p. 169. The Protestant position that Navarre was always loyal to the King, always wanted peace, and took arms only when the League by force and guile caused Henry to attack him is well stated in "Declaration du Roi de Navar . . . sur la paix faite avec la Ligue," *Memoires of De Mornay*, I, 554-60; *Contre-League*, pp. 5, 36; *An Excellent Discourse*, fols. 5v, 6r.

Leaguers, and to entertayne their fauour" Henry sent Joyeux "with a mightie armie to passe ouer the riuier Loyre" to attack Navarre. Apparently Marlowe stresses the King's affection for him in order to render easy the transition to the quarrel with Guise about the mignons, which breaks out as soon as Joyeux leaves (XIV, 10 ff.).

Scene XV reviews vaguely the immediate aftermath of Coutras. Here Navarre gives God credit for the victory and expresses his abhorrence at the great slaughter of noblemen which has signalized the battle. Protestant publications frequently do the same.⁶⁷

With the exception of the shooting of Mugeroun, which belongs to the earlier incident of the Duchess' amour, Scene XVI is a very distant rendering of the situation on and after the famous day of the Barricades in Paris, May 12, 1588. At that time Guise entered the city against the express orders of the King, the pro-League populace welcomed him tumultuously, riots against the royal troops broke out, a tense meeting occurred between Guise and Henry, and shortly afterwards Henry fled for his life from his hostile capital. In the following months Guise showed himself submissive. Thereupon the enmity was superficially patched up through the good offices of the Queen Mother. Henry convoked the Estates General at Blois in August, and, in December while the assembly was still in session, executed Guise in the manner already described. These are developments abundantly set forth in the contemporary press.⁶⁸

In Marlowe's Scene XVI the broad outlines of these events are recognizable. There is an angry interchange between Duke and King, in which the dramatist seems to be following no known documents but elaborating freely upon what he believed to be the main issues between the two men. The "power of men" which Henry requires Guise to disband may be intended to refer merely to League strength in general, or in particular to the 15,000 armed followers sometimes said to have been covertly gathered by Guise in Paris.⁶⁹ Epernoun's description of the popular acclaim of Guise derives from some account like Colynet's:

⁶⁷ See the official protestations issued at the time from Navarre's headquarters, and later published in the *Memoires* of De Mornay: "Memoires envoies en divers lieux de ce qui passa depuis le 24. Aoust . . . jusques a la Bataille de Coutras . . ." *Memoires*, I, 754-67, 788-89. Also Colynet, pp. 161 ff.: "Lettre du roi de Navarre a Messieurs de la noblesse" (January 1, 1586), *Memoires* of De Mornay, I, 590-94.

⁶⁸ E. g., *An Historicall Collection*, pp. 69 ff.; Colynet, pp. 229-42. League pamphleteers contended that Guise entered Paris because Henry planned to execute the Catholic leaders there and sack the city: *Les Mœurs humeurs et comportements de Henry de Valois*, p. 28, and *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, pp. 84-85. Guise's own public explanation was that he came to the King only to protest his loyalty and that the King precipitated trouble by ordering in new troops: M. Hurault, *A Discourse upon the present estate of France*, p. 65 et passim.

⁶⁹ E. g., Colynet, pp. 229-30.

... the Lord of Guize going through the streates of Paris with the Q. Mother, the people flocked in great companies to bid him welcome, and among others, a gentlewoman standing upon a bulke, plucking her maske down, saluted him with these words, Good Prince seeing thou art come we be safe.⁷⁰

The feigned submission of Guise is a condensation of his humble efforts to secure reconciliation with Henry between May and July, 1588. According to *An Historicall Collection* (1598), after the King's escape from Paris, Guise "determined to winne the king's fauour, thereby not to loose the ayde of those that found the action within Parris to be ouer hardie." He caused all his followers to pledge "the seruice of the king, the obedience of his Maiestie, the preseruacion of the estate. . . ." ⁷¹ Colynet speaks of letters sent to Henry in which Guise

... powreth out the words of a faithfull seruant, and in disguising his enterprize goeth about to deceaue him, & to lul him asleep . . . he must dissemble and make the words of seruice and obedience sound highly. There he doth lament . . . that by reason of the slaunders of his aduersaries, he hath been rendered suspect to the King of the cryme of high treason.⁷²

At the end of Scene XVI Henry reaches two important decisions: to discharge his traitorous Council, and to make away with Guise at Blois. The first of these embodies the Protestant view that Henry's evil acts as king were done upon the advice of councillors who had been bribed by Guise or by Philip of Spain. "And you (my King)," exhorts *The Restorer of the French Estate*,

lift up your selfe aboue the dissimulation of your Counsellers who for the most part (to the mishap of you and of all this State) are wonne already by straungers, or parties sworne too farre in the differences of Religion; they are auctours or parttakers in all these tumultes. Sir, discerne them . . . take counsell aboue all of God and your soule.⁷³

On the other hand, I know of no published statement that Henry made any formal dismissal of these corrupt advisers after the Baricades. Marlowe seems to use the idea merely to symbolize the definite crystallization of the King's enmity for Guise. Some of the Protestant writers even say that in July the League compelled Henry to dismiss his only faithful councillors.⁷⁴ With regard to the King's second decision, to assassinate Guise, authorities differ about whether he made it before Blois, as Marlowe holds, or only when the Duke's plots against him disclosed themselves there.

We observe, then, that Marlowe has amalgamated in the last part of his scene several circumstances of the months between May and

⁷⁰ P. 231. Also Hurault, *A Discourse upon the present estate of France*, p. 56.

⁷¹ P. 110.

⁷² P. 245. Also *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 28; Hurault, *A Discourse*, pp. 58 ff.

⁷³ P. 167. *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 23; Colynet, pp. 35, 167.

⁷⁴ *An Admonition giuen by one of the Duke of Sauoyes Council to his Highnesse*, tr. E. A. (London, 1589), fol. B3^v; *An Historicall Collection*, p. 130.

July, 1588. We also cannot help observing that his treatment of the crucial Barricades affair is a sad example of missed opportunities. As narrated by Colynet, Hurault, Davila, and others, this crisis in French history was drama almost ready made, needing scarcely more than literal translation to become a highly effective part of the play. Marlowe's paraphrase of it must be confessed to be wretched. We do not hear the voice of the populace nor sense the sweep of great issues towards their tragic solution.

Scene XVII is significant only in that Navarre's determination to march to the King's aid prepares us for the alliance between the two sovereigns, consummated in August, 1589 (Scene XXI). It has the minor inaccuracy of suggesting that the union was imminent in the summer of 1588, but the major virtue of indicating that Navarre was anxious then, as always, to persuade Henry to join him against the League.⁷⁵

With the end of Scene XVII the stage has been set for the murder of Guise at Blois, and we arrive again at those final scenes in which Marlowe's dependence on the pamphlet literature has already been shown to be great. So far our main attention has been to the action. Possible influences on the characterization have yet to be adequately discussed.

(To be continued)

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⁷⁵ See the public statement sent by Navarre to the Assembly at Blois in 1588, *Memoires of De Mornay*, III, Supplement, 134-43; Colynet, p. 362.

ENGLISH EDUCATION AND NEO-CLASSICAL TASTE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By ALICE STAYERT BRANDENBURG*

The narrowly classical nature of English education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was one of the factors in the creation and preservation of the neo-classical movement in literature, and the attitude toward the classics during this period can be better understood when one is acquainted with the curriculum and the methods of teaching in use at the time. The remarkable persistence of neo-classical canons, clichés, and procedures of criticism, even late in the eighteenth century, is partly the result, no doubt, of the fact that all of the student's formal and systematic study of literature was concerned with the classics.

In the sixteenth century the contents of the classics were considered of prime importance, but in the seventeenth century subject-matter no longer received the chief emphasis. Students used the classics as a basis for the study of grammar, philology, and history, and the study of grammar, in particular, was stressed until it became no longer a means, but an end in itself.¹ During the eighteenth century, education remained strictly classical, and tended to emphasize grammar and style rather than content.

The theory underlying the eighteenth-century system of education was, on the whole, rather vague. The classical studies that had been revived so enthusiastically in the Renaissance were continued, but with less fervor and with less consciousness of a firm and well-defined purpose. Henry Felton and Anthony Blackwall were the most painstaking apologists for the classics in the early eighteenth century. Felton, in addition to pointing out the ethical value of the greatest Latin and Greek writings, declares that the student of the classics forms a good taste in literature and achieves a smooth and polished style:

I have intimated already, that a good Taste is to be formed by reading the best Authors, and when Your Lordship shall be able to point out their Beauties, to discern the brightest Passages, the Strength and Elegance of their Language, You will always write Yourself, and read others by that Standard, and must therefore necessarily excell.²

* Some of the material in this article is from the author's unpublished dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the doctor's degree at Radcliffe College.

The place of publication of books included in the footnotes is London unless otherwise noted.

¹ Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 365 ff.

² Henry Felton, *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics and Forming a Just Style. Written in the Year 1709*, 3rd ed. (1718), pp. 109 ff. The first edition was published in 1713.

According to Anthony Blackwall, the ancient writers are worthy of study because of the perspicuity and clarity of their style,³ the cultivation and restraint that they added to their natural genius,⁴ the care that they used in their versification, and their adaptation of sound to meaning.⁵ The classics are a source of undiminished pleasure, for the man who reads and re-reads them is always finding new beauties that he has not noticed before.⁶ Study of the Latin and Greek writers is helpful to pupils who wish to learn rhetoric and oratory before entering public life.⁷ Blackwall believes that good moral instruction can be gleaned from the classics,⁸ and that the study of the classics illuminates many portions of the Bible, since customs in all parts of the ancient world were to some degree similar and since St. Paul was acquainted with Greek writers as well as with the Hebrew canon.⁹ Later in the century John Clarke, an editor of school texts as well as an educational theorist, asserted that anyone who wished to excel in poetry or oratory must read the greatest poets, Homer, Virgil, and Milton, since the rules laid down by critics were only a negative aid.¹⁰ James Burgh, attacking the Rousseauistic theory of education, declared, without giving any reasons, that no one can be cultured without a knowledge of Latin. His defense of Greek is a little better supported:

Considering how erroneous our translation of the N. Testament is (which, at least, is a *curious* book) it may be worth a *little* time, and it will not cost much, to acquire knowledge enough of the Greek, to be able to read it in the original.¹¹

James Beattie denied that the study of the classics in grammar schools resulted in mere verbal knowledge. By studying the classics, boys learn history, politics, ethics, geography, and literary appreciation, as well as the Latin and Greek languages.¹² According to Beattie, the reading of the classics and the learning of grammar discipline and improve children's minds, an argument that has been used even to the present day.¹³ Finally, the world's best literature is written in the Latin and Greek languages, and translations cannot preserve the beauty of the originals.¹⁴

³ Anthony Blackwall, *An Introduction to the Classics: Containing a Short Discourse on Their Excellencies*, 6th ed. (1746), p. 28. This book first appeared in 1717.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 59 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 67 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁰ John Clarke, *An Essay upon Study* (1731), pp. 202 and 212 ff.

¹¹ [James Burgh], *Crito, or Essays on Various Subjects* (1766-1767), I, 154.

¹² James Beattie, "Remarks on the Utility of Classical Learning" (written in 1769), *Essays on Poetry and Music* (Edinburgh, 1778), pp. 496 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 504 ff. and 514 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 523-55.

Voices of protest were raised from time to time against various aspects of English education during the eighteenth century. Steele thought that too many children were given a classical education, without regard to their capacities or their future status in life.¹⁵ Spence and Defoe found fault with the narrowly classical curriculum, the omission of instruction in English language and literature and other useful subjects.¹⁶ Chesterfield constantly warned his son against the pedantry that might result from too much attention to the classics, though he recognized the importance of Latin and Greek as a social ornament and a source of intellectual pleasure.¹⁷ But in spite of the sporadic attacks of reformers, the general pattern of education remained stable throughout the period:

When a boy can read English with tolerable fluency, which is generally about the age of seven or eight years, he is put to school to learn Latin and Greek; where, seven years are employed in acquiring but a moderate skill in those languages. At the age of fifteen or thereabouts, he is removed to one of the universities, where he passes four years in procuring a more competent knowledge of Greek and Latin, in learning the rudiments of logick, natural philosophy, astronomy, metaphysics, and the heathen morality. At the end of nineteen or twenty a degree in the arts is taken, and here ends the education of a gentleman.¹⁸

The curriculum of the various public and private schools followed certain definite lines. In the first three or four forms the pupils learned Latin grammar and began to read Latin; at St. Paul's School (about 1690) the third class read Ovid's *Tristia* and the fourth, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and at Eton, in the eighteenth century, the Latin Bible and an edition of Phaedrus with notes in English were read in the lower grades. Greek grammar was begun in the schools in the third, fourth, or fifth form, and next the Greek New Testament was studied. Meanwhile the pupils were progressing to the more difficult Latin authors. At St. Paul's in 1690 Virgil, Martial, and Sallust were read in the fifth and sixth forms, and at Eton, Ovid, Aesop, Caesar, Terence, Virgil, Horace's *Odes*, Pomponius Mela, and Cornelius Nepos were included in the course of study for these grades. Hebrew was taken up last; in 1690 pupils at St. Paul's seem to have begun the study of it in the eighth form, but ten or fifteen years later the Hebrew psalms were being read in the sixth form. In addition to the Hebrew Bible, pupils in the seventh and eighth forms at St. Paul's read the more difficult Greek and Latin writers—Horace, Apollodorus, Cicero, Homer, Demosthenes, Persius, Juvenal, Virgil's

¹⁵ *Tatler*, 173, and *Spectator*, 157.

¹⁶ [Joseph] Spence, *Polymetis* (1747), p. 290; and Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Gentleman*, ed. Karl D. Bülbring (1890 [not published in the 18th century]), pp. 114-21, 196 ff., and 222.

¹⁷ *Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield*, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (1932), III, 1108.

¹⁸ Thomas Sheridan, *British Education: Or, the Source of the Disorders of Great Britain* (1756), p. 17.

Georgics, Euripides' *Medea*, Livy, and the *Persae* of Aeschylus. Little attention, it must be observed, was paid to Greek tragedy. At Eton two weeks a year were devoted exclusively to the study of Greek plays, and in addition boys in the sixth and upper fifth forms spent two hours each week construing Greek drama.¹⁹ Joseph Warton remarked in his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* that the Greek writers of tragedy had never received in England the fame that they deserved:

. . . By a strange fatality they [the Greek tragic poets] have not in this kingdom, obtained the rank they deserve amongst classic writers. . . . Even real scholars think it sufficient to be acquainted and touched with the beauties of Homer, Hesiod, and Callimachus, without proceeding to enquire,
—'What the lofty grave tragedians taught—'²⁰

There is, perhaps, some relationship between the eighteenth-century preference of epic to tragedy and the comparative neglect of Greek drama in the schools.

Many boys of the upper classes were not sent to the public schools, but were educated at home by tutors. Naturally, in such cases the curriculum varied according to the wishes of the parents or the theories and preferences of the tutors, but in general it followed the plan of the public schools. Lord Polwarth, writing to his son's tutor, outlines briefly what he wants the boy to be taught:

. . . The Latin poets should be read over and over again and the beautys of them remarked to him in the reading and that rather as a diversion than as a study, which beside the knowledge of the language, will give a neatness and clearness to thought and expression. I'd have him learn the Greek, not only to read the New Testament, but if possible to read the history of that time and the Greek poets in their language. Mathematicks are necessary to form his judgment and sound reasoning, tho I would not have them made a principal study, nor too much of his time taken up in them. . . . I do not mention the French and liveing languages; those must be minded; we cannot know too much, but the most necessary must be always first minded and followed out.²¹

Frequently boys who were educated privately received more intensive training than those who went to school. Lord Chesterfield wanted his son to have a broader education than the public schools afforded, yet he realized that a knowledge of the classics was necessary to a gentleman. His attitude toward the current ideal of education, however, is distinctly contemptuous: "Classical knowledge, that is, Greek and Latin, is absolutely necessary for everybody; because

¹⁹ Information in this paragraph about St. Paul's is from Michael F. J. McDonnell, *A History of St. Paul's School* (1909), pp. 265 ff. and 288-91. Information about Eton is from Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of Eton College (1440-1898)*, 3rd ed. (1899), pp. 319-22.

²⁰ [Joseph Warton], *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (1782), I, 279. The first part of this study appeared in 1756, the second in 1782.

²¹ *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Polwarth*, ed. Henry Paton (*Historical Manuscripts Commission* [1911-1931]), III, 33 ff. The letter is dated January 28, 1721. The spelling is Lord Polwarth's.

everybody has agreed to think and call it so."²² Young Philip's progress in the classics follows the ordinary course, though he seems to have been ahead of most boys of his age.²³ In July, 1739, he was studying Latin and Greek grammar,²⁴ and two months later he was reading Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, although it is clear that he had not yet begun the study of Virgil or Homer.²⁵ The fact that a year later he was able to scan Latin and Greek verse²⁶ led his father to assume that the boy knew all the Greek paradigms.²⁷ When Philip was at Westminster School in 1747, his father urged him to use his spare time profitably in reading Latin poetry, but he remarked that the *Aeneid* was too important a work to be read in so casual a way.²⁸

A third type of eighteenth-century education was that offered by the dissenting academies, of which some, like that at Northampton, corresponded to universities, while others fulfilled the function of grammar schools. In these institutions the curriculum included mathematics, science, and modern languages, for the dissenters were chiefly men of the commercial classes who wanted their sons to receive a practical rather than a decorative education. The classics were not, however, completely neglected, though in the period from 1690 to 1750 emphasis on them declined somewhat.²⁹ The ancient languages did not take precedence of other subjects; Latin was spoken only at specified times, and the lectures and many of the exercises were in English.³⁰ A letter by Philip Doddridge, written in 1728, outlines the course of study at Northampton Academy as it was when he was a pupil there.³¹ In the first semester there was a one-hour Latin class each week; the method was "first to read the Latin according to the grammatical order of the words and then render it into as elegant English as we could."³² There was also translation of English passages, occasionally from the *Spectator* or *Tatler*, into Latin. Two hours a week in the second half-year were devoted to Latin readings and exercises; the works of Virgil, Horace, Terence, Lucretius, Juvenal, and Plautus were studied. In the third

²² Chesterfield, *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, III, 1155 (May 27, 1748).

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 479 (Nov. 4, 1741): "... As to learning, consider that you have now but one year more with Mr. Maittaire, before you go to Westminster School, and that your credit will depend upon the place you are put in there at first; and if you can, at under eleven years old, but be put in the fourth form, above boys of thirteen or fourteen, it will give people very favorable impressions of you, and be of great advantage to you for the future."

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 365. Chesterfield's son was born in 1732.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 373 ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 413 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 406.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 1067.

²⁹ Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 55, 60, 70, and 76.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77. Doddridge entered the school as a student in 1719.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 143.

semester no Latin authors were read, but one class-hour a week was spent on Homer, Theocritus, and Pindar; classical studies were not continued after the third term.³³ When Doddridge himself was the head of Northampton Academy, little class time was spent on ancient or modern languages, but students could be tutored privately. The first-year students, however, did written translations from Latin to English and English to Latin, and each student was required to read a Latin poet, a Latin prose-writer, a Greek poet, and a Greek prose-writer.³⁴

It is generally agreed that the English universities reached their low ebb in the eighteenth century; conditions at Oxford were better, however, in the first half of the century than in the second half.³⁵ Numerous reformers during the period pointed out the shortcomings of the universities; Chesterfield's devastating comment was not a solitary outburst of dissatisfaction:

. . . I hope the University of Dublin, that enjoys a share of your premiums, deserves them. Our two Universities, at least, will do it no hurt, unless by their examples, for I cannot believe that their present reputations will invite people in Ireland to send their sons there. The one [Cambridge] is sunk into the lowest obscurity; and the existence of Oxford would not be known, if it were not for the treasonable spirit publicly avowed, and often exerted there.³⁶

The course of study at Oxford was as narrowly classical as that of the public schools. At Magdalen College, in the middle of the century, Sallust and Theophrastus were read during the first term, the first three books of the *Anabasis* and the first six of the *Aeneid* in the second term, the last six books of the *Aeneid* and the last four of the *Anabasis* in the third, and the Greek gospels of Matthew and Mark in the fourth. The following years were likewise devoted to classical reading, with a little attention to logic, ethics, geometry, and physics.³⁷ The scanty and desultory nature of instruction in the subjects that supplemented the classical studies is revealed in Nicholas Amhurst's scornful discussion of the lecture requirements. First-year students were forced to attend every week two lectures each on grammar, rhetoric, logic, and moral philosophy; from the end of their second year until a year after receiving their bachelor's degrees they had to attend a geometry lecture each week.³⁸ The students' progress was tested from time to time, but examinations were notoriously lax in the first half of the century.³⁹

³³ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, pp. 144 ff.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-91. These regulations were in effect about 1750.

³⁵ A. D. Godley, *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century* (1908), pp. 60 ff.

³⁶ Chesterfield, *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, IV, 1329.

³⁷ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, p. 132.

³⁸ [Nicholas Amhurst], *Terrae Filius: Or, The Secret History of the University of Oxford* (1726), p. 228.

³⁹ Examinations at both universities in the first half of the eighteenth century were almost nominal. Godley observes that "Academic examinations had few points of contact with academic studies" (*Oxford in the 18th Century*, p. 172).

Toward the middle of the century, however, reforms were introduced, particularly in the system of examinations. In 1741 Corpus Christi College, Oxford, attempting to increase the industry of its students, passed a statute requiring public examinations of all candidates for the bachelor's degree.⁴⁰ Changes were also made at Magdalen College. James Hurdis, refuting Gibbon's assertions that no public examinations were required at Magdalen, outlined the subjects on which students were examined at the end of every term, and declared that such tests had been part of the educational system for the past thirty years. (Hurdis wrote his book about 1797.) Gibbon was, according to Hurdis, manifestly unfair in implying that the regulations were the same when he wrote his autobiography as they had been when he was in college.⁴¹ Hurdis' tabulation of the subjects on which students were examined during their first four years reveals, on the other hand, the weaknesses of the university curriculum; the students were tested solely on their reading of the ancient authors. In the second term of the first year they were tested on their knowledge of the first six books of the *Aeneid* and the first three of the *Anabasis*, and by the end of the following term they were supposed to know the remaining books of these works. At the end of the first term of the second year they were examined on Caesar's *Commentaries* and the first six books of the *Iliad*; at the end of the second term, on Cicero's *De Oratore* and books seven to twelve of the *Iliad*. As late as the third term of the fourth year the students were examined on Virgil's *Georgics*.⁴² The sterility of this program is apparent when one realizes that adequately prepared students would have read these books (and most of the other works on which they were tested) during their years in a public or private school. But the very defects of the university curriculum must have intensified the classical bent of the eighteenth-century mind, for it is natural that men who had read the masterpieces of ancient literature in school and had re-read them in college should have quoted them easily whenever they felt that quotations would ornament their writing or conversation, and that they should have turned almost in-

There was an elaborate system of preliminary examinations and exercises, disputations and *viva voce*'s; candidates for the bachelor's degree were supposed to be examined on geometry, natural philosophy, astronomy, metaphysics, history, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. But actually these hurdles had degenerated into meaningless formalities. Candidates could choose their own examiners, and they usually chose men who were good friends of theirs. The examinations were almost social occasions (*ibid.*, pp. 175-80). Conditions at Cambridge were similar. The laxity of the examinations is vividly described by D. A. Winstanley in *Unreformed Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 39-91.

⁴⁰ Thomas Fowler, *Corpus Christi* (University of Oxford: College Histories, 1898), p. 182.

⁴¹ [James Hurdis], *A Word or Two in Vindication of the University of Oxford and of Magdalen College in Particular from the Posthumous Aspersions of Mr. Gibbon* (privately printed ca. 1797), p. 17.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 14-17.

stinctively to the classic models as standards of literary excellence. Some theorists, indeed, defended vigorously the practice of having young children read the greatest authors and then review them in a more mature way later. Blackwall, for example, says:

. . . 'Tis in my Opinion a right Method to begin with the best and most approv'd *Classics*; and to read those *Authors* first, which must often be read over. Besides that the best *Authors* are easiest to be understood, their notable Sense, and animated Expression, will make strong Impressions upon the young Scholar's Mind, and train him up to the early Love and Imitation of their Excellencies. . . . *Plautus, Catullus, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Tibullus, Propertius*, cannot be study'd too much, or gone over too often.⁴³

The methods of instruction were as important as the curriculum itself in fostering a detailed knowledge of the classics. Techniques of classroom procedure can be gleaned from school documents, the textbooks used, and the harangues of indignant reformers who objected to the quality and methods of contemporary instruction.

The records of various public schools reveal that the first year or more was devoted exclusively to the study of Latin grammar. John Clarke denounced the procedure of having pupils learn by heart the rules of syntax, as well as the declensions and conjugations, before beginning to translate, and he urged that boys be allowed to read the simpler authors as soon as they knew the inflections.⁴⁴ The rules of grammar, moreover, were memorized in Latin, a practice defended by the argument that rules learned in Latin make a deeper impression on the child's mind "and [carry] the Learner more directly to the Habit of speaking Latin, a Practice much used in our Schools."⁴⁵ Clarke protested against the teaching of syntax in Latin, comparing it to the reciting of prayers in a foreign language.⁴⁶

But, although the rules were learned from Lily's Latin grammar or from a grammar written in Latin verse, supplementary books in English were used, as Clarke points out. Clarke suggests that the learning of rules in Latin is valueless, since the students actually acquire their fundamental knowledge from the English versions:

. . . Accordingly our Schools are very wisely provided with a Construing-Book to *Lily*, and therefore it is not his Latin, but *Hool's* English that Boys learn the Grammar-Rules by.⁴⁷

A Short Introduction to Grammar: For the Use of the Lower Forms in the King's School at Westminster is a brief elementary text (32 pp.), entirely in English, which contains the declensions and con-

⁴³ Blackwall, *Introduction to the Classics*, pp. 115 ff.

⁴⁴ John Clarke, *An Essay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools* (1730), p. 11.

⁴⁵ Thomas Ruddiman, "Preface," *The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*, 10th ed. (Edinburgh, 1746), v. This text was first published in 1714.

⁴⁶ John Clarke, *A New Grammar of the Latin Tongue*, 4th ed. (1754), iv.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, iv.

jugations and only four pages of syntax. Also in use at Westminster at this time was the *Rudimentum Grammaticae Latinae Metricum*, which contains the rules of syntax in Latin verse. A companion-volume translates these versified rules into English.⁴⁸ Another means of clarifying the Latin grammar was Charles Hoole's *The Common Accidence Examined and Explained by Short Questions and Answers*, of which the first part contains a sort of catechism, in English, on Latin grammar and the second part consists of examples of the rules, translated phrase by phrase.⁴⁹

Translation from Latin or Greek into English took up more of the pupils' time than any other phase of the classical studies. Unfortunately the Latin texts assigned were not arranged in such a way that the beginner might proceed gradually from easy authors to more difficult ones. Charles Gildon observes that on the Continent the boys' reading is carefully graded: pupils do not begin to read verse until they have mastered prose and have learned how to write in the Ciceronian style; they begin their Latin and Greek reading with Claudian, Statius, and Plutarch and conclude with Virgil, Horace, and Homer. But in England boys are required to study the most difficult classical poets before they know their grammar thoroughly.⁵⁰ Gibbon, too, found the choice of elementary texts unsatisfactory:

... By the common methods of discipline, at the expense of many tears and some blood, I purchased the knowledge of the Latin syntax: and not long since I was possessed of the dirty volumes of Phaedrus and Cornelius Nepos, which I painfully construed and darkly understood.⁵¹

Nepos seems to Gibbon suitable for beginners, but the text of Phaedrus contains entirely too many difficulties; "the schoolboy may have been whipped for misapprehending a passage which Bentley could not restore, and which Burman could not explain."⁵² George Turnbull objected to the assigning of the difficult classic authors to pupils of the lower forms because, even though young boys might be able to translate this type of poetry, they would not be able to understand and appreciate the artistic merit of the great poets:

Let it just be added, that there can be no objection against using Virgil, Homer, or Horace, merely for teaching the words and syntax of the languages

⁴⁸ The Latin rules were versified to make them easier to memorize. Hoole says that the "volubility of Verse doth indeed help some quicker wits for more ready repeating of them . . ." (*A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*, ed. Thiselton Mark [Syracuse, 1912], p. 111). The book was originally published in 1660. The translation of the *Rudimentum* is called *The Construction of Latin Verse-Grammar for Use in the Lower Forms in Westminster School* (1748), and in it the Latin as well as the English is given; for example: "Litera a Letter vocatur is called pura pure si if vocalis a vowel praeerat goes before it . . ." (p. 3).

⁴⁹ Edition of 1738.

⁵⁰ [Charles Gildon], *The Laws of Poetry* (1721), pp. 56 ff.

⁵¹ Edward Gibbon, *Autobiography* (London and New York, [1911]), p. 26.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

in which they are writ, or to inure youth by reading them, to read and pronounce justly and with good grace: Yet these authors cannot be understood by boys quite unacquainted with the beauties of nature and with mankind; and therefore explaining upon them, ought to be delayed till students are by other proper studies qualified for entering into all their beauties, and all the truths they set in the most agreeable lights.⁵³

As soon as the pupils had mastered grammar, translation from Latin or Greek into English took up a large portion of their time. At Eton the fifth and sixth forms spent ten hours a week construing Greek and Latin: two hours each on Homer, Lucian, Virgil, and *Scriptores Romani*, one hour on *Poetae Graeci*, and one hour on Horace's *Satires*. The assignment for each lesson was thirty-five or forty lines, except in Horace, in which the assignment was generally sixty lines. Seven hours a week were devoted to review. Apparently the students had to recite and construe the translation, and each boy was permitted to leave the classroom "as soon as he had repeated six or seven lines."⁵⁴ Boys in the sixth and upper fifth forms spent two additional hours a week construing Greek plays. The sixth-form pupils construed the Greek aloud in the presence of the fifth-form pupils and translated the Greek into Latin; the fifth-form boys parsed and then quoted grammatical rules or parallel passages.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the students did not have to do their work without assistance, for the teacher usually construed the lesson in class before assigning it to the boys. Clarke, in an eloquent preface to his literal translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (designed for the relief of pupils and masters), draws a vivid picture of the overworked teacher who construes the lesson hastily in order that the boys may have an assignment long enough to keep them busy in their hours outside class. The teacher's problem would be solved, says Clarke, if he would permit the boys to construe the lessons themselves with the aid of a good translation.⁵⁶

The editions of the classic writers that were used in the schools of the early eighteenth century had notes in Latin, a fact that was deplored by men who believed that educational methods could be improved. The standard edition of Virgil's works, for example, the

⁵³ George Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education in All Its Branches* (1742), p. 436.

⁵⁴ Lyte, *History of Eton College*, pp. 319 ff.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 320 ff.

⁵⁶ John Clarke, *Ovid's Metamorphoses with an English Translation, As Literal As Possible*, 7th ed. (1779), iv: ". . . For it is not sufficient for a Master to construe Boys a Lesson once over from Beginning to End, in a Hurry (as is usual, I believe) and so clear his Hands of them, in Expectation that should serve the Turn, by keeping them properly employed, and he be no more troubled with them, for his Assistance upon that Lesson. Alas! this will signify just nothing at all. If he would assist them to any Purpose, he must go over each Period of a Lesson distinctly and slowly by itself, more than once; and then try the Boys in it one after another, helping them out, where he finds them faultier [*sic*], or at a Stand; and not advancing further, 'till the slowest of them are pretty perfect in what they are upon." If the number of editions is any indication, Clarke's edition of Ovid seems to have been used widely.

Delphin (or Dauphin) text prepared by Ruaeus (Charles de la Rue) contained an "Interpretatio," a Latin paraphrase in prose, and notes explaining in Latin the difficult phrases. A vocabulary at the end of the volume gave line references but no translations.⁵⁷ The Minellius edition, first published in 1666 and still in use in English schools as late as 1766,⁵⁸ had a Latin paraphrase or synonym for each difficult word. Spence objected to the Latin annotations on the ground that most of them did not enlighten the readers, but merely exhibited the editor's learning.⁵⁹ Trapp, a translator of Virgil, felt that half the difficulty of reading the classics was removed if the notes were translated into English, and he declared that the annotations in his version would supplement the notes of Ruaeus:

I have only This to add further: That as I have in my Exposition omitted nothing but what relates to *History, Antiquities, and Geography*, upon which Ruaeus is very large and particular; Young Gentlemen, and Learners, need only make Use of His Labours, and Mine in Conjunction: His *Dauphin-Edition*, That common *School-Book*, and This Version, with the Notes annexed, will give them a complete Interpretation of all *Virgil's Works*; and They have no occasion to trouble themselves with any other.⁶⁰

As the century went on, more and more of the school texts were issued with notes in English. John Clarke, one of the pioneers, says of his own annotations, in the preface to his edition of Nepos:

. . . The Notes are in English, because otherwise they would have been wholly useless to those for whose Benefit they were chiefly intended. I have oftentimes wonder'd at the Fancy of loading the earlier Classics with a vast Number of Latin Notes, where those that could read the Author at all, would but seldom want Help, and those that could not, would be able to read the Notes no more than the Text.⁶¹

Likewise Thomas Cooke remarks in the preface to his edition of Virgil:

. . . I have endeavoured to avoid burdening the work with more notes than are necessary, thinking it very trifling to write remarks on, or give explanations of, such words as are to be found sufficiently explained in any common dictionary; which is too often done by note-writers, (such as *Minellius*) on classic authors.⁶²

⁵⁷ P. Virgilii Maronis, *Opera*, ed. Carolus Ruaeus (Paris, 1675).

⁵⁸ A valuable list of school texts in use in the eighteenth century is "A Catalogue of the School Books Now in General Use," *A Complete Catalogue of Modern Books Published from the Beginning of This Century to the Present Time* (1766), pp. 89-92.

⁵⁹ Spence, *Polymetis*, p. 286.

⁶⁰ Joseph Trapp, "Introduction to the Notes," *Works of Virgil, Translated into English Blank Verse*, 3rd ed. (1735), II, 3 ff., and "Preface to the *Eclogues and Georgicks*," *ibid.*, I, v ff.

⁶¹ John Clarke, *Cornelius Nepos's Lives of the Excellent Commanders*, 7th ed. (1748), vi ff. This book was first published in 1723.

⁶² Thomae Cooke, *Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis* (London, 1741), ix.

Cooke's notes and his "argument" in this edition are in English, and there is a brief essay in English, "Postscript concerning English Translations of Virgil." But even these later editions often have, after each section of Latin verse, a Latin paraphrase (*interpretatio*) or a prose arrangement (*ordo verborum*) of the Latin words.⁶³

Other aids to the struggling students were the *Clavis Homerica* and the *Clavis Virgiliana*. The *Clavis Virgiliana*, published in London in 1742, is a dictionary of all the words used in Virgil's poems, with line references and an English translation of each word. At the end of the book is a section entitled, "Phrases, Periphrases, and Proverbial Sayings Collected Out of Virgil." The phrases are printed in two columns, Latin and English, and the purpose in adding this collection to the dictionary is to facilitate the students' translation of idioms and figurative expressions.

Last of all, translations, used with or without the sanction of the teacher, have always been of the greatest assistance to pupils. In their prefaces the translators frequently expressed noble scholastic motives, revealing that their English versions were designed for the schoolboy rather than for the general reader. As early as 1633 John Brinsley published a prose translation of Virgil's *Eclogues*, in the preface of which he declares that pupils who use his book will not become lazy and careless, but will actually accomplish more and will learn to construe more rapidly. He has chosen the *Eclogues*, he remarks, because they are best suited to children's capacities:

. . . children entred well in Grammar, and having gone through but those parts of the authors which I have translated, will be able by Gods blessing . . . to take their lectures of themselves, at least, with very little assistance, in all the rest of Virgil & the higher Latin authors; by the means of the worthy Commentaries and other helps, which the Lord hath in this last age provided above all former times.⁶⁴

Maittaire, the author of the introductory note to John Martyn's edition of the *Georgics*, does not claim that Martyn's translation will revolutionize pedagogic methods, but he points out that the edition could be used profitably in the schools:

As nothing is more necessary for Scholars, than the right understanding of the Authors which are put into their Hands; and as among the Poets VIRGIL is the chief; so the accurate English Translation, learned Notes which DR. MARTYN has made, with much Pains and Labour upon the GEORGICKS, the most compleat and exactly finished Work of that Poet, deserve to be recommended for the Use of Publick and Private Schools of this Kingdom.⁶⁵

⁶³ Cooke's edition has an *interpretatio*, and John Stirling's edition (*P. Virgilii Maronis Opera: Or, the Works of Virgil* [London, 1749]) has an arrangement of the words in prose order.

⁶⁴ John Brinsley, "A plaine Direction to the painfull Schoolemaster and others," *Virgil's Eclogues* (1633), sig. 1B.

⁶⁵ M[ichael] Maittaire, introductory note to *The Georgicks of Virgil, with an English Translation and Notes*, trans. by John Martyn, 2nd ed. (1746). The first edition appeared in 1741.

The practice of requiring boys to write prose and verse compositions in the classical languages was attacked by reformers and defended by conservatives. Spence deplored the absurdity of teaching children the useless art of writing in Latin and Greek,⁶⁶ and, much later, Coleridge blamed the artificiality of eighteenth-century poetry on habits acquired in making Latin verses:

... that this style of poetry, which I have characterized above, as translations of prose thought into poetic language, had been kept up by, if it did not wholly arise from, the custom of writing Latin verses, and the great importance attached to these exercises, in our public schools. Whatever might have been the case in the fifteenth century, when the use of the Latin tongue was so general among learned men, that Erasmus is said to have forgotten his native language; yet in the present day it is not to be supposed, that a youth can think in Latin, or that he can have any other reliance on the force or fitness of his phrases, but the authority of the writer from whom he has adopted them. Consequently he must first prepare his thoughts, and then pick out, from Virgil, Horace, Ovid, or perhaps more compendiously from his *Gradus*, halves and quarters of lines, in which to embody them.⁶⁷

Beattie, who defended eighteenth-century methods of education, held that composing prose themes in Latin gave boys a command of words and the habit of thinking clearly. The writing of verse was profitable because it improved boys' pronunciation of the classic languages, gave them a feeling for poetic harmony, and increased their vocabularies.⁶⁸

In practice, translation from English to Latin began very early in the schoolboy's career—according to Clarke, too early:

... I do not think it proper to enter Boys so very soon as is commonly done in the making of *Latin*. I am of the Opinion it would be better to defer it till they can read an easy *Latin Author*. . . .⁶⁹

The introductory composition-texts were, however, rather simple and gave the student more assistance than a similar modern book would. In John Clarke's *An Introduction to the Making of Latin* (17th ed., 1757), one column contains the English prose, and a parallel column has the Latin words in their proper order. The student's only task was to put the correct endings on the Latin words. Other aids were available, such as dictionaries of idioms. The subtitle of Walker's *Phraseologia Anglo-Latina* describes very well the contents of the book: "Phrases of the English and Latin Tongue; Whereby is shewed how to Render English Proprieties into Proper Latin. To which is Added, *Paraemiologia Anglo-Latina*, or A Collection of English and Latin Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings Match'd together." The material is alphabetized in English ("abide, abroad, abstain," etc.), and all the various shades of meaning are given with

⁶⁶ Spence, *Polymetis*, pp. 289 ff.

⁶⁷ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria* (1906), pp. 10 ff.

⁶⁸ Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music*, pp. 518-21.

⁶⁹ John Clarke, *An Introduction to the Making of Latin*, 17th ed. (1757), xi.

their Latin equivalents. Many of the "proverbs" are actually metaphors or idiomatic phrases. Walker announces that his purpose is to "deliver young Latine-makers from Barbarity in their making of Latin."⁷⁰

As the students advanced to the upper forms, they were required to write Latin verse as well as prose, a fact that was lamented by Jortin:

In our schools the boys make too many exercises in verse, and too few in prose; so that many of them, who can compose a pretty epigram, cannot put together four sentences of prose in a pure and correct manner. Poetical numbers they know, if they have a good ear; but prose hath its numbers,—and with these they are not acquainted. This defect often sticks by them afterwards; and when they make a Latin speech, or sermon, it is in linsey-woolsey stuff, in poetical prose, larded with scraps of Horace and Virgil, by way of embellishment.⁷¹

Chesterfield, too, writing to his son at Westminster School in 1746, showed his contempt for the customary types of composition:

. . . What Latin and Greek books do you read there? Are your exercises, exercises of invention? or do you still put the bad English of the psalms into bad Latin, or only change the shape of Latin verse, from long to short, and from short to long?⁷²

At Eton, fifth-form boys handed in three Latin compositions a week: a prose theme (at least twenty lines), a poem of at least ten elegiac couplets, and a lyric of five or six stanzas. Sixth-form students had to write longer compositions, and Greek iambs were substituted for the Latin lyric measures. Pupils in the fourth form had to translate prose passages from English into Latin and to compose two sets of elegiac verses (at least six couplets each) and an *ex tempore* of two couplets.⁷³ Homer, Virgil, and Horace were, according to Gildon, used as models for imitation in the composing of Latin, but the imitation was confined almost wholly to diction.⁷⁴

To the modern person, the task of composing Latin verses would seem appalling, but the eighteenth-century schoolboy had an important aid, the *Gradus* referred to by Coleridge. The *Gradus ad Parnasum*, one of the standard texts of the century, was especially designed for the use of amateur Latin poets. One section of the book contained lists of adjectives arranged according to their scansion, so that if a student needed a spondee to fill out a line, he had only to consult the list of adjectives one spondee long until he found a word that would fit his meaning. Another section of the book listed Latin words alphabetically and gave synonyms, epithets that would be suitable with the nouns, and periphrases. A poetic quotation was given for

⁷⁰ William Walker, *Phrasologia Anglo-Latina* (1672), sig. A3.

⁷¹ John Jortin, *Tracts, Philological, Critical, and Miscellaneous* (1790), I, 441.

⁷² Chesterfield, *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, III, 725.

⁷³ Lyte, *History of Eton College*, pp. 321-23.

⁷⁴ Gildon, *Laws of Poetry*, p. 60.

almost every word. One can visualize the pupils, with the help of a *Gradus*, puttering with their verse compositions, using a line of Ovid here and a half-line of Horace there, finding synonyms and counting syllables, just as persons of today who solve cross-word puzzles find synonyms and count letters. As Coleridge suggested, this sort of activity probably gave the boys a false idea of the nature of poetic phraseology and poetic creation.

Certain other phases of secondary education may have indirectly affected eighteenth-century culture and taste. At Winchester, boys compiled commonplace books (which they called "gathering books" or "gags") in which they copied witty or elegant passages that they found in various authors.⁷⁵ Besides supplying the pupils with stereotyped quotations on various subjects, this custom must have fostered the belief that poetic beauty consisted essentially of purple passages, of richly ornamented descriptions that lost none of their validity when torn from their contexts, and this attitude is apparent in most of the descriptive and didactic poetry of the century. Large quantities of Latin verse were memorized at Eton,⁷⁶ and probably at Winchester⁷⁷ and other schools. Joseph Spence considered current methods of teaching the classics wholly unsatisfactory, and one of the flaws he pointed out was the memorizing of hundreds of lines or even whole books of Homer and Virgil.⁷⁸ The memorizing undoubtedly had its effect, and it is little wonder that men who had not read the classics since their schooldays were nevertheless able to quote from the Latin poets on suitable occasions.

The studies that supplemented the reading of the classics seem to have been taught in a casual and uninspired manner. Gildon thought that prosody and rhetoric were taught too mechanically in the English schools, because only diction and the various figures of speech were studied, and the structure and the genres of literature were not emphasized. A really good course in the rules of poetry and rhetoric would develop in students a taste for literature, instead of making them waste their school years on mere verbal criticism. Chesterfield, too, wanted his godson to be informed about the various types of poetry and the distinguishing characteristics of each.⁷⁹

Although students in the public schools and even in the dissenting academies⁸⁰ received practice in oral Latin, there is no reason to believe that the average pupil learned to speak Latin fluently. Defoe remarked that few people in England in his time could speak Latin

⁷⁵ A. K. Cook, *About Winchester College* (1917), pp. 309 ff.

⁷⁶ Wasey Sterry, *Annals of the King's College of Our Lady of Eton Beside Windsor* (1898), p. 188.

⁷⁷ Cook, *About Winchester College*, p. 308.

⁷⁸ Spence, *Polymetis*, p. 289.

⁷⁹ Gildon, *Laws of Poetry*, pp. 57-59; Chesterfield, *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, VI, 2871.

⁸⁰ Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, p. 76.

except a small number of churchmen and teachers.⁸¹ Current methods of instruction in oral Latin seemed to John Clarke more harmful than beneficial,⁸² and James Beattie believed that the direct method of teaching Latin and Greek sacrificed accuracy to fluency.⁸³ When Dr. Johnson spoke Latin rather than French, he did so because he was ashamed of his French.⁸⁴ Lectures in the universities were delivered in Latin, and oral examinations were in Latin, but apparently even university professors did not speak Latin very fluently, for there is Horace Walpole's little joke about the examiner who apologized for questioning a student in English by explaining that his mouth was sore.

The methods of private tutors differed from those of schoolmasters. Chesterfield and his godson were both taught Latin in the French manner, which resembles what modern educators call the "direct method," but Chesterfield felt that his approach, useful during the first year of study, did not give students a satisfactory knowledge of grammar.⁸⁵ Boys who had private tutors did their translation more informally than public-school pupils did, and they were free to ask questions about various words and forms. Lord Polwarth, writing to Mr. Abercrombie, his children's tutor, advocates methods of instruction far more informal than those employed in schools:

... Rules of grammar they must learn, but let that be more by observation than burdening their memories with rules to repeat. ... The classics must be all read, and the beauties of them, when they are capable to discern them, pointed out of them. But let them read one good author, Cesar's Commentaries or Cicero's Offices over and over again, and let them even write 'em to accustom them to the stile when they are so far advanced to be able to do it.⁸⁶

The methods of instruction used by tutors in the universities resembled those used by teachers who taught in private homes. The

⁸¹ Defoe, *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 114.

⁸² John Clarke, "A Dissertation upon the Usefulness of Translations of Classick Authors," *The History of the Wars of Catiline and Jugurtha, by Sallust. With a Free Translation*, first pub. 1734, 4th ed., 1755, xx: "... Constant Conversation in Latin with such as talk it well would indeed be of great Use for that Purpose [fluency in oral and written Latin]. But then very little can be done in that Way in School: For to confine Boys to the talking of Latin amongst themselves, before they attain any tolerable Skill in the Language, is absurd, and a Means to prevent their ever speaking or writing it well. If Boys are to be so confined, they ought to be constantly attended by a good Master, to help them out upon all Occasions, by furnishing them with proper Language. But this is manifestly impracticable where there are but two Masters in a School, or, as is oftentimes the Case, but one. A ready and proper Use of the Latin Tongue is a Matter of very great Difficulty, and never to be attained by Boys talking barbarously amongst themselves, if it is at all attainable at School."

⁸³ Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music*, pp. 507 ff.

⁸⁴ *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (New York, [1921?]), II, 463 ff.

⁸⁵ Chesterfield, *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, VI, 2580 and 2612.

⁸⁶ *Report on MSS of Lord Polwarth*, I, 169.

professors occasionally gave lectures (in Latin), but most of the instruction was in the hands of the tutors. When Gibbon entered Magdalen College, Oxford, his preparation was deficient, and his tutor arranged to read Terence with him for an hour every morning. Gibbon soon discovered, though, that if he wished to do something else instead of going to his lesson, any excuse satisfied his tutor.⁸⁷ Gibbon's knowledge of Greek and Latin was admittedly below average when he entered Oxford and consequently cannot be taken as a norm, but a really competent knowledge of Latin and Greek was apparently not universal among students entering the universities. A letter from Chesterfield to M. Jouneau, his former tutor, reveals that his knowledge of Greek was rather sparse and that he was reading Lucian and Xenophon with his college tutor, who explained the rules of grammar as they went along.⁸⁸

It is difficult to ascertain how effective eighteenth-century education was, that is, how thoroughly the average student learned Latin and Greek. Probably the ordinary student's knowledge of Greek was sketchy; Chesterfield urged his son to become proficient in Greek because so few men had a good knowledge of Greek, although everyone knew a little Latin.⁸⁹ Gibbon as a boy read some of Xenophon and the *Iliad* at Lausanne,

. . . But my ardour, destitute of aid and emulation, was gradually cooled, and, from the barren task of searching words in a lexicon, I withdrew to the free and familiar conversation of Virgil and Tacitus.⁹⁰

Knowledge of Latin was more thorough than knowledge of Greek, but it would undoubtedly be incorrect to assume that every man of the upper classes could read Latin easily at sight. Gibbon, who may be considered a reliable authority, since he had little respect for English education, declared that the public schools, although they offered a narrow curriculum, at least "may assume the merit of teaching all that they pretend to teach, the Latin and Greek languages."⁹¹ But although the first few years of schooling were devoted almost exclusively to the study of Latin, methods of instruction were not economical, and the pupils did not progress very rapidly. Clarke contrasts the average boy's knowledge of French after two years' study with his knowledge of Latin after four years', allowing for the greater difficulty of Latin:

. . . But the Difference in the reading Part betwixt the two Languages Latin and French is not so very great; and yet a Boy shall be brought, in two Years, to read and speak the *French* well, that in double the Time, or more, spent at

⁸⁷ Gibbon, *Autobiography*, pp. 42-46.

⁸⁸ Chesterfield, *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, II, 5: ". . . Croiriez-vous bien aussi que je lis Lucien et Xenophon en grec? ce qui m'est rendu assez aisé, car je ne m'embarrasse point d'apprendre toutes les regles de la grammaire: mais l'homme qui est avec moi, et qui est une grammaire vivante, me les enseigne en lisant."

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 400.

⁹⁰ Gibbon, *Autobiography*, p. 70.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

a Grammar School, shall be so far from talking or writing *Latin*, that he shall not be able to read half a dozen Lines in the easiest Classick Author you can put into his Hand.⁹²

Even if one assumes that most boys left the public schools with a fair knowledge of Latin, there are suggestions that they frequently lost their ability to read Latin in later years. The eighteenth-century translators of the classics often hinted that their editions would aid not only schoolboys, but also grown men who might like to re-read the ancient authors with the assistance of a good translation or commentary. Blackwall suggests in the preface to his *Introduction to the Classics* that adults as well as children may find his essays helpful,⁹³ and John Clarke, in the preface to his translation of the *Metamorphoses*, recommends his books to gentlemen interested in reviving their knowledge of the classics.⁹⁴ In short, Sheridan was probably not exaggerating the state of affairs very much when he declared that soon after university graduates got out into the world they forgot all they had ever known of the classics, logic, and metaphysics.⁹⁵ The better students, of course, undoubtedly gained more from their education, and retained their knowledge of the classics for the rest of their lives, and some students even left the universities with a bent of thought so classical that it had to be concealed or diluted before they were acceptable in sophisticated urban circles.⁹⁶

A significant question is whether pupils subjected to the vigorous course of classical training really enjoyed any of their reading or whether they tended to revolt against Latin and Greek literature. There is evidence that at least some of the pupils were moved emotionally or aesthetically by classic poetry. Horace Walpole's early correspondence reveals that as a boy he had an enthusiasm for certain classics as well as for modern literature:

... But why mayn't we hold a classical correspondence? I can never forget the many agreeable hours we have passed in reading Horace and Virgil; and I think they are topics that will never grow stale.⁹⁷

⁹² John Clarke, "Preface," *A Select Century of Cordery's Colloquies, with an English Translation, As Literal as possible*, 14th ed. (1751), iv. This book was first published in 1718.

⁹³ Blackwall, "Preface," *Introduction to the Classics*, sig. A3: "The following Essays are only design'd for the Use and Instruction of younger Scholars; and Gentlemen, who have for some Years neglected the Advantages of their Education, and have a mind to resume those pleasant and useful Studies, in which they formerly made a handsome Progress at the Schools or Universities."

⁹⁴ Clarke, "Preface," *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, viii: "... Few grown People will ever have the Patience to hammer out such a Language as the Latin by the Help of a Dictionary. That would require more Time than any one in a thousand can or will spare. But in this Way of Proceeding, the regaining or improving in the Latin Tongue, will be but a new Kind of Diversion, which the World has hitherto been unacquainted with. The Time Gentlemen need to employ that Way is less than those who are most taken up with Business, usually spend upon their Pleasures."

⁹⁵ Sheridan, *British Education*, p. 23.

⁹⁶ Chesterfield, *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, IV, 1760.

⁹⁷ *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee (Oxford, 1903-05), I, 9.

. . . Dear George, were not the playing fields at Eton food for all manner of flights? No old maid's gown, though it had been tormented into all the fashions from King James to King George, ever underwent so many transformations as those poor plains have in my idea. At first I was contented with tending a visionary flock, and sighing some pastoral name to the echo of the cascade under the bridge. How happy should I have been to have had a kingdom only for the pleasure of being driven from it, and living disguised in an humble vale! As I got further into Virgil and Clelia, I found myself transported from Arcadia to the garden of Italy; and saw Windsor Castle in no other view than the *Capitoli immobile saxum*.⁹⁸

The Reverend Norton Nicholls once asked Gray when he had begun to appreciate poetry:

I asked Mr. Gray if he recollected when he first perceived in himself any symptoms of poetry; he answered that he believed it was when at Eton he began to take pleasure in reading Virgil for his own amusement, and not in school-hours, or as a task.⁹⁹

Frequently boys studied the major classic masterpieces before they read the major English ones, but this was not always the case.¹⁰⁰ As a boy Gibbon seems to have read rather widely in English before studying the important ancient authors:

. . . From Pope's Homer to Dryden's Virgil was an easy transition; but I know not how, from some fault in the author, the translator, or the reader, the pious Æneas did not so forcibly seize on my imagination; and I derived more pleasure from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, especially in the fall of Phaeton, and the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses.¹⁰¹

Uncle Toby Shandy cannot be treated as an historical person, but some schoolboys must have reacted to the stirring passages in the classics just as he did:

. . . When we read over the siege of Troy, which lasted ten years and eight months,—though with such a train of artillery as we had at Namur, the town might have been carried in a week—was I not as much concerned for the destruction of the Greeks and Trojans as any boy of the whole school? Had I not three strokes of a ferula given me, two on my right hand, and one on my left, for calling Helena a bitch for it? Did any one of you shed more tears for Hector? And when king Priam came to the camp to beg his body, and returned weeping back to Troy without it,—you know, brother, I could not eat my dinner.¹⁰²

The subject-matter and methods of education probably had considerable effect on eighteenth-century attitudes toward literature. The great classic authors, especially the Latin, were read early in the pupils' school years—according to some contemporary critics too

⁹⁸ *Letters of Horace Walpole*, I, 12 ff.

⁹⁹ *Letters of Thomas Gray*, ed. Duncan C. Tovey (1909), II, 279.

¹⁰⁰ John Philips did not read Milton until he had become acquainted with both Virgil and Homer, and, impressed by Milton's use and imitation of these ancient authors, he became an ardent admirer of Milton. (C. V. Deane, *Aspects of Eighteenth Century Nature Poetry* [Oxford, 1935], p. 128.)

¹⁰¹ Gibbon, *Autobiography*, pp. 29 ff.

¹⁰² Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* (New York, 1928), p. 418.

early. Young boys were naturally unable to appreciate the more subtle beauties of these writings, yet the fact that they had to collect and record in notebooks significant passages and memorize many lines of Latin poetry lay behind the eighteenth-century facility in quoting apposite lines from the classics. Moreover, the imaginations of at least some schoolboys were aroused by the stories from ancient literature, and to an imaginative child a book that he enjoys has a more vivid reality than it has to an adult. In many cases the students' first contact with great literature was with the Latin and Greek authors.

In the field of literary criticism certain phases of education may have left their mark. If Augustan criticism frequently neglected the broad classical ideals of unity and proportion and degenerated into mere quibbling over diction, this may have been due to the line-by-line, piecemeal way in which the classics were read in the schools. In his comments on Pope's imitations of Horace's *Satires*, Spence deplored the fact that schoolboys, preoccupied with diction and figures of speech, never had the opportunity of seeing Latin or Greek poems as a whole.¹⁰³ The custom of having students quote parallel passages had some influence, perhaps, on the practice indulged in by eighteenth-century critics of almost automatically using classical examples for the sake of comparison. On the whole, the curriculum and the methods of instruction in the schools and universities helped to perpetuate the procedures and ideals of neo-classic criticism.

Wilson College

¹⁰³ Spence, *Polymetis*, p. 287: "... I had at first been used to study each of those poems in the original by piece-meal; that I had been drawn off every other instant from what Horace said to what he did not say, and very often to what was not at all to his purpose; that this false and broken impression of Horace's thoughts, (taken in at a time when the mind receives impressions most easily, and retains them most firmly,) had given me a false idea of his manner of thinking, in general; and had prevented me from seeing those pieces of his in particular, in a right light; till those entire pictures of his thoughts were set before my eyes by a third person: who, by the way, was himself perhaps the better enabled to conceive Horace so clearly and fully as he has done, by his not having taken his first impressions of that poet, in the manner we usually do at schools."

THE BYRON POETRY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

By T. G. STEFFAN¹

The Byron manuscripts at the library of the University of Texas fall into three general groups: poetry, letters of Byron, and letters of the Byron family and of his circle.² The present critical and descriptive survey deals exclusively with fifty-nine manuscripts of the poetry, which in turn comprehend three categories: poems of Byron himself, most of them in his own autograph; poems attributed to Lady Byron; and a few occasional poems by other writers of which Byron is the subject.

The value of the thirty-seven manuscripts of Byron's poetry in this collection is greater than the mere number indicates. The early Southwell period is richly represented by thirteen manuscripts of poems as well as by two drafts of Byron's preface to the *Hours of Idleness*. Several of these manuscripts are apparently unpublished.³ From the later English period, the manuscripts of the *Ode to Napoleon* and the *Siege of Corinth* are outstanding, although there are also a number of lyrics as well as small fragments of *Childe Harold* and *The Giaour*. Most important are the manuscripts of several of the longer works of the Italian years, *Sardanapalus*, *Cain*, *Don Juan* (Canto VIII), and *The Island*, all of them complete. Interest in the collection is increased by the fact that many of the manuscripts show considerable revision, a study of which would reveal the nature of the art-and-thought processes of the poet at work.

Although certain manuscripts required exceptional treatment, the manuscript data in this survey have for the most part been cast into a uniform pattern. General identifying information is given first: the manuscript number assigned to it by the library; the title by which the

¹ This survey, which is part of a general world census of the manuscripts of Byron's poetry, may serve to call forth information about the location of other Byron manuscripts that I do not already know about. If readers who know of the existence of such manuscripts, especially those in private collections, would communicate with me, I should be greatly indebted to them for any information that they would be kind enough to volunteer. It would also be a friendly service if readers will correct my opinions about those poems which I believe to be unpublished.

² Certain prose manuscripts have also been classified for convenience in these three groups. Manuscripts of prefaces have been included in the first group; a prose fragment in the nature of a journal and a few documents in which Byron had a hand are listed with the second group; documents related to Byron but drawn by other people belong with the third. For surveys of the second and third groups of MSS, see the author's "Byron Autograph Letters in the Library of the University of Texas," *Studies in Philology*, XLIII (October, 1946), 682-99; and "Autograph Letters and Documents of the Byron Circle at the Library of the University of Texas," *Studies in English*, 1945-1946 (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1946), 177-99.

³ Mr. W. W. Pratt has undertaken the publication of these manuscripts.

poem, if published, is now generally known,⁴ bracketed if not present on the manuscript; the first line of an unpublished manuscript, or of a published one where a manuscript title is absent or different from that of the title now generally accepted. More specific physical description of the manuscript follows: the number and size of the pages; the exact manuscript title, signature, and date; the watermark; any significant marginal annotations.

For the sake of simplicity and uniformity, the bulk of a manuscript is defined by "pages" and not by "leaves," except in a few special instances. Most of the manuscripts comprise "leaves," each folded to make four pages, except for some fragments and shorter pieces and for those larger manuscripts which a binder has cut to serve his own ends. To save space it was decided to use the general terms "quarto" and "folio" to indicate the size of the pages rather than to give the exact leaf measurements.

Following the detailed physical description of a manuscript is a brief supplementary discussion of date, composition, and publication, and of a few specific questions suggested by the nature of certain manuscripts. In all instances where a manuscript is denoted as unpublished, the judgment is intended as a cautious one, since a dogmatic assertion would be hazardous in view of the possibility that some of these poems might have appeared in newspapers, periodicals, or privately printed pamphlets to which I have not had access.

Details concerning the binding or other means of preservation of the manuscripts have been excluded from the text of the survey because some of these physical conditions are temporary. However, since these details can be of value in establishing the provenance of the manuscripts of Byron's poetry, a review of the present "housing" of the manuscripts may be helpful to those concerned with such a study. Several of the manuscripts (6526, 6527, 6528, 6543)⁵ have been sumptuously bound in morocco by Sangorski and Sutcliffe, who have also added to each manuscript a pen-printed title page and introduction and a typed transcription of the text. Two others (6514, 6530) were bound in morocco, also by Sangorski and Sutcliffe, with a few letters, portraits, and various sketches. One large manuscript, *The Siege of Corinth* (6535), binder unknown, has an interleaved printed text. The manuscript of the *Ode to Napoleon* (6536) was bound in morocco by Riviere and Son with a Byron portrait and with the manuscript leaves pasted on heavy paper. The only other bound manuscripts are the *Sardanapalus* (6538), done by M. M. Halloway, and the *Cain* (6534), done by Roger de Coverly, both in

⁴ For Byron's own poetry I have used the titles given in the standard edition of *The Works of Lord Byron: Poetry*, 7 vols., ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge; *Letters and Journals*, 6 vols., ed. Rowland E. Prothero (London: John Murray, 1898-1904). This edition will be referred to hereafter as "Coleridge" or "Prothero."

⁵ The numbers referred to may be identified in the text of the survey.

morocco. Several manuscripts have been preserved in durable blue cloth folders or boxes (6524, 6529, 6539, 6544, 6545). Three others are now kept in ordinary manila folders (6532, 6532A, 6532B); and one, the Canto VIII of *Don Juan*, is laid between pieces of card-board.

Three manuscripts are associated with volumes of Byron's poetry. One (6790) is pasted on a fly-leaf, two others (6748, 6821) are copied on end-leaves.

One volume and one packet of manuscripts require special mention. The *Abbey of Newstede*, referred to as MS 6531, is a large "association" volume of illustrations concerning the Byron family residence. Between the pages of this book have been laid or pasted about as ill-assorted a number of manuscripts as could well be got together: six different and disconnected manuscripts of poetry, a preface, nine of Byron's letters of widely separated dates, as well as letters from his mother, his mother-in-law, Caroline Lamb, the Countess Guiccioli, and an unknown person. All of this miscellaneous material is largely unrelated in time or by occasion, and very little of it has any direct connection with Newstead Abbey.

Another miscellaneous packet is that numbered 6533 and labeled *Byron Family Letters*. In addition to a large number of letters, this packet contains five manuscript poems of which Byron might be the author, although some of them are unquestionably copies, probably made by Lady Byron and Augusta Leigh. Publication by Coleridge has authenticated Byron's authorship of two of these poems. The manuscript evidence for the three others, however, is too scanty to establish their authenticity beyond doubt.⁶ In this same packet are twelve manuscript poems which may be assigned to Lady Byron, and also four manuscript poems written by various other people about Byron.

The manuscripts of volume 6531 and packet 6533 are not listed together in the present survey, but in their chronological order of composition, as accurately as it could be determined. In general, all other manuscripts are also listed in order of composition. For those of the early period when Byron was not so careful about dating his work as he was after he awoke one morning famous, the order in the survey suggests only an approximate chronology, which might well be juggled without serious objection.

Finally, I should like to explain the reference on four occasions to a symbol which Byron used as a characteristic signature on the manuscripts of his later poems. This signature at first glance resembles the "D" of modern script. On some of the earlier manuscripts, both of the poetry and the letters, Byron completes the signature of his family name with an upward flourish, extended to the left

⁶ These are items 24, 25, and 31 in the following survey.

and then down to cross the final "n." Later he seems to sign a manuscript only with an "N," but so written with this extended up-and-down flourish as to suggest a fusion of the two letters, "NB," in which the second leg of the "N," serves as the base of the "B." This curious symbol, marked off dramatically on all sides with pen strokes, makes an identifying mark of unusual character, the appropriately expressive stamp of one who was well aware after 1822 that his initials were those of Napoleon Bonaparte.⁷

A. MANUSCRIPT POEMS OF LORD BYRON

1. MS 6531 [*Translation from Anacreon. Ode 1. To His Lyre*]
"I sought to tune my quivering lyre"
[*Translation from Anacreon. εἰς πόδον Ode 5*] "Mingle with the
genial bowl"

4 pp. 4to. Byron on the manuscript gave these poems the simple Greek titles, "εἰς λυράν," "εἰς πόδον, Ode 5th." Undated and unsigned. Watermark: "Gater 1805." Written on p. 1 in pencil are the words "Two poems." On p. 4 in pencil: "I think this *last* has never been printed—The first is page 24 in Murray's Complete Ed. of 1832."

The first of these odes, "εἰς λυράν," appeared in *Hours of Idleness* (1807) under the title "Translation from Anacreon / To his Lyre." The second, "εἰς πόδον," Coleridge printed for the first time in 1898 (I, 228-29). This MS seems to be the "MS Newstead" used by Coleridge, for he noted some of the rejected lines of the first ode, although he did not record any for the fifth. He dated "Ode 5" as 1805. The numbering on the MS corresponds to that of Bullen's edition of Stanley's translation of the Anacreontics.

2. MS 6532B εἰς κόρην Ode 34 "Though age the herald of decay"
ἄλλο ὠδῆριον Ode 47 "I love the old the jovial sage"

2 pp. 4to. The first of these contains 12 lines, the second 8. Title as listed. Undated and unsigned. Watermark: "II" without date. Written at bottom of p. 2 is this endorsement: "I certify this to be Lord Byron's own writing; I received it from *his hand*, and it has never been out of my possession until now. E. B. Pigot March 22d 1852."

The MS belongs to the Pigot-Southwell period and may be tentatively dated 1805. Neither of these odes appears in the Coleridge edition, and they may be unpublished. "Ode 47" corresponds to that of the same number in the Bullen edition; "Ode 34," however, is numbered "33" by Bullen. According to Dr. H. J. Leon of the Classical Languages Department at the University of Texas, who was good enough to compare these poems, and also the other two of MS 6531, with the original Greek, all are free adaptations and expansions of the general ideas and attitudes of the Anacreontic odes.

⁷ In 1822 Lady Noel, mother of Lady Byron, died, and by the terms of the old Wentworth inheritance, Byron and his wife were to assume the name of Noel.

3. MS 6531 [*Ossian's Address to the Sun in "Carthor"*] "Oh! thou that roll'st above thy glorious fire"

⁴ pp. 4to. with part of p. 4 blank. Untitled, undated, and unsigned except for a large rubric-like flourish. No watermark. Fair copy.

Coleridge printed this for the first time in 1898 and dated it 1805 (I, 229-30).

4. MS 6527 "Mary Ann was a spinster in Southwell well known"

12 pp. 4to. 23 stanzas of 6 lines each. Page 12 is blank except for 17 rows of Byron's familiar scribbling of "1234567890," and the penciled comment, "all his figures." Untitled, undated, and unsigned. Watermark on one leaf: "Ivy Mill 1804." Fair copy with several erasures. The bound volume of this MS is entitled "Prim Mary Ann."

The explanatory page in this volume dates the poem as 1805. It does not appear in the Coleridge edition and may be unpublished.

5. MS 6544 [*To Eliza*] "What fools are the Musselman sect"

3 pp. 4to. Untitled, undated, and unsigned. Watermark: "Gater 1805." Fair copy. The blue cloth folder in which the MS is placed is entitled, "On Women."

Byron published this poem in his first volume, *Fugitive Pieces* (1806) under the title "To Miss E P" and dated it "Southwell Oct. 9, 1806." He used only the first five stanzas in his next volume, *Poems on Various Occasions* (1807) under the title "To Miss —." The MS contains the ten stanzas as published by Coleridge under the title "To Eliza." Judging from Coleridge's citation of the one rejected MS line, I believe this to be the "MS Newstead" that he referred to.

6. MS 6528 [*To Edward Noel Long Esq.*] "Dear Long, in this sequestered scene"

8 pp. 4to. with p. 8 partly blank. Title: "To E. N. Long." Undated and unsigned. Watermark on one leaf: "1806." The volume of this MS is entitled "To Edward Noel Long."

Byron published this poem in *Hours of Idleness* (1807) under the title "To E. N. L. Esq." This MS seems to be the "MS Newstead" used by Coleridge for his notes on the rejected lines.

7. MS 6545 *Childish Recollections*

10 leaves of varying sizes: 6 folded into quarto pages, 2 single quarto pages, 2 smaller irregular scraps. Title as listed. Undated and unsigned. Watermarks: "1806" on 3 leaves; "II" on the others.

The MS shows an extensive revision; several leaves are copies of others, probably in Miss Pigot's handwriting. One version of this poem first appeared in *Poems on Various Occasions*; another, altered and expanded, in *Hours of Idleness*. This MS seems to represent an intermediate stage.

8. MS 6531 [Three fragments]

4 pp. 4to. (3 single leaves). Untitled, undated, and unsigned. Watermark: "1803" on 2 leaves; "1806" on the third.

The first leaf, containing 18 lines, is crossed out diagonally. The second, beginning "Douts yet the hag that from her form so vile," con-

tains 22 lines in the same, though larger, handwriting, and is a revision of the first page, still with many erasures. The third, beginning "At length outwitted and by nature spurned," contains 4 lines and seems to be at least remotely related to the other two. At the top of p. 1, someone has written in pencil: "MSS G BYRON. From a vol. belonging to the Hon Augusta Leigh Lord Byron's Half-sister." In the same hand on all three leaves is the word "unpublished." There is some resemblance between the handwriting of these comments and that of the MS of the verses; and in certain details the script of the verses differs from that on other Byron MSS of this period. Professor D. L. Clark of the English Department at the University of Texas, who looked at a transcription of the second fragment, thinks that the nature of the content also throws some doubt on Byron's authorship.

9. MS 6532A *To Miss H. An ancient Virgin who tormented the Author to write Something on her sweet self* "You ask me so oft, and so warmly to write"

2 pp. 4to. 5 stanzas of 4 lines each. Title as listed. Signed: "Byron. Novr. 10th 1806." Watermark: "John Hall 1805."

At the beginning of the poem is scribbled "1234567890," evidence according to Miss Pigot that words were slow in coming. At the end of the poem Byron writes: "These verses were written at the earnest Request of Miss E. B. Pigot." This sentence is followed by the words, "false false L— B—," probably by Miss Pigot's hand.

The poem is not in the Coleridge edition and may be unpublished.

10. MS 6526 *To a Knot of Ungenerous Critics*

7 pp. 4to. Title as listed. Signed: "Byron Decr 1st 1806." Watermark: "G Jones 1805." Fair copy.

This poem was first published by Coleridge in 1898 (I, 213-16). The MS may be the "MS Newstead" that Coleridge referred to.

11. MS 6537 *To the Author of a Sonnet Beginning " 'Sad Is My Verse'; You Say 'And Yet No Tear' "*

2 pp. 4to. MS title: "To the author of a sonnet beginning thus, 'Sad is thy verse' you say, and yet no Tear etc. etc." Unsigned. Dated: "March 8 1807." No watermark. Written at the end of the poem in different handwriting is this note: "Copy for Mr. Moore Janr 26 1828 / for Murray also." The single leaf of this MS is bound with a large number of Byron's letters.

The script of the MS text is generally the same as that on the other Southwell MSS. The note on the MS should not be interpreted to mean that this MS is a copy not in Byron's hand, but rather that someone, probably Miss Pigot, who owned the MS had been asked to send copies to Moore and Murray for their forthcoming edition of Byron's poetry. The poem was first published in the 1832 edition of the *Works*.

12. MS 6531 [*Preface to the Hours of Idleness*]

6 pp. 4to. Untitled, unsigned, and undated. Watermark on one leaf: "1806." A penciled annotation on the MS, not in Byron's handwriting, labels it: "Preface to Hours of Idleness from Newstead Abbey."

Of the two drafts of the *Preface* in the Texas Collection, this one, pasted in the *Abbey of Newstede*, appears to be the earlier. It shows

many corrections, does not contain all that was published by Byron in the *Preface* to his 1807 volume of poetry, and also does not follow the order of the printed version. For instance, the "Cowper" passage of the MS was moved nearer the beginning of the published preface, and another section speculating on the reception of a young man's verses was omitted altogether. This section was replaced by a longer one on originality and on his lack of professional pretensions. The MS of this substituted passage is listed next in the survey.

I have not been able to find the *Preface* in any form in the Coleridge edition. P. E. More publishes it in his Cambridge edition, pp. 83-84.

13. MS unnumbered [Fragment of the *Preface to the Hours of Idleness*]

3 pp. 4to. Untitled, unsigned, and undated. No watermark. Fair copy.

The manila folder in which this MS is now kept indicates that it formerly belonged to the Harry Smith Collection in New York. Written on the folder is the endorsement: "Autograph MS of the first draft of his *Preface to Hours of Idleness*." This MS, however, is probably a second draft. There are no erasures. It does not duplicate any part of the other Texas MS of the *Preface* and contains only the passage which begins "I have not aimed at exclusive originality . . ." (p. vii of the *Preface* as printed in 1807) and runs on, substantially as published, to the paragraph beginning "With slight hopes . . ." (p. ix). This MS thus supplies the section which Byron substituted for the one omitted in the earlier draft.

14. MS 6529 [*Farewell to the Muse*] "Thou Power! who hast ruled me through infancy's days"

4 pp. 4to. Title: "Adieu to the Muse." Unsigned, but dated "1807" at the end of the poem. Watermark: "1806."

The poem was first published in Moore's 1832 edition of the *Works* under the title "Farewell to the Muse." This may be the "MS Newstead" which Coleridge consulted, for he cited two rejected lines which appear here; he made no note, however, of several erasures.

In the same folder on one leaf is a copy of the poem in different handwriting. This sheet of paper had previously been used as an envelope, for written across one side is "Miss Pigot / Burgage Cottage / Southwell"; and on the other "To / Jos Sherbooke / ——— Hall." The place name is hard to make out beneath the copy of the verses. The leaf is torn at the edges around the seal which bears the letters "ANN." At the end of the copy is this endorsement: "Copied for Mr. Moore / Feb 1828 / also for / Murray." Leaf watermarked: "C Wilmot 1825."

15. MS 6748 *To* — "And wilt thou weep when I am low?"

Written on one side of a page at the back of a copy of *Poems on Various Occasions*, given by Byron to Miss Pigot in December, 1806, and so inscribed on the half-title. At the end of this copy of the poem, neatly printed by hand, appears the name "Ld Byron." This does not seem to be a signature, and in fact all of the writing on this page seems to be Miss Pigot's, done probably after the poem was published in *Hobhouse's Imitations and Translations* (1809). Coleridge dated the poem precisely, August 12, 1808, possibly from a MS which he had seen. If Coleridge was right about the date of the composition, then this copy of

the poem is not Byron's; and other evidence supports this view. Coleridge cited several rejected lines from the 1808 MS that he had seen. The Pigot copy agrees exactly with the published version in Hobhouse's book. Thus if we were to assume that the Pigot copy was written by Byron himself, we must regard it as a fair copy later than the corrected MS of August, 1808. This assumption is improbable, for it is not likely that Byron wrote the verses in Miss Pigot's book after August, 1808. According to Miss Mayne's account of Byron's activities in these years, he left Southwell in June, 1807, and thereafter rapidly drifted apart from Miss Pigot. The last letter to her that we have in the Prothero collection is dated October 26, 1807.

On the next page, written in the same hand are four lines, beginning "The Poet's Lyre, to fix his fame," possibly an unpublished fragment.

16. MS 6531 [*Lines to Mr. Hodgson, Written on Board the Lisbon Packet*] "Huzza! Hodgson, are we going"

5 pp. 4to. Untitled. Dated: "Falmouth Roads June 30th 1809." Signed at the end: "Byron." Watermark: "J. Wilatman 1806." On the last blank page is written: "Lisbon Packet." Pencil comment on one leaf: "Very breezy."

This poem was first published by Coleridge in 1901 (VII, 4-5). Prothero also printed this poem (I, 230-32) as an enclosure in a letter to Hodgson, dated June 25, 1809. Byron probably held this letter for several days, at least until June 30, before sending it with the poem to Hodgson. The poem may actually have been written on board the packet, but certainly before the ship sailed. In a letter to his mother, Byron wrote, "we sailed from Falmouth on the 2nd of July" (Prothero, I, 236).

17. MS 6514 [*Fragment of English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*]

2 pp. 4to. Untitled, unsigned, and undated. No watermark. On p. 2, written in different ink and by different hand from that of the verses, is the remark, "Lord Byron's first copy—English Bards & Scotch Reviewers." Bound with two autograph letters, one by Byron to Hodgson, one by Byron's mother to Hanson, two aquatints of Newstead Abbey, and two portraits of Byron.

The twenty-two lines of the MS correspond to ll. 357-78 of the second edition (1809) in which they first appeared, replacing some lines written by Hobhouse and used by Byron in his first (anonymous) edition of the poem. They were written between March and October, 1809, that is, between the publication of the first and second editions. These lines are numbered 363-84 in the Coleridge edition.

18. MS 6537 [*Fragment of English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*]

A small scrap of paper contains ll. 508-09. Untitled, unsigned, and undated. No watermark.

An accompanying note vouches for the authenticity of this fragment: "These lines were written by Lord Byron himself and are cut out of his original rough copy of 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.' . . ." A letter from a Charlotte Williams to her uncle explains more in detail how Mrs. Heath, cousin of the poet and sister of the seventh Lord Byron, was cutting up a rough draft of the poem and sending the snippets to her friends. Charlotte Williams had been given these two lines, and she in turn sent them to her uncle for a "nook in one of your cabinets."

19. MS copy 6525 *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*

43 pp. stitched into booklet form. 4to. Unsigned and undated. Watermarks: 2 pp. "1810"; 9 pp. "1812."

This MS copy written in a neat and regular unknown hand contains a title page, the preface, and 696 lines of the first edition (March, 1809) of the poem under the present title. On pp. 41-43 are copied the following:

1. *Lines on the P. R. visiting the tombs of Henry VIII and Charles I at Windsor* "Famed for contemptuous breach of humanities" 10 lines. See Coleridge (VII, 35-36), where the poem is printed with some changes. It first appeared in the 1819 Paris edition of *Poetical Works*.
2. *Lines by Mr. J. W. Croker in answer to Lord Byron* "Far better is the thing that crawls" 28 lines. Printed by Prothero, II, 479-80.
3. *Additional Stanzas to the Ode to Napoleon* "Yes! better to have stood the storm" Two stanzas here numbered 17 and 18, printed by Coleridge in a note, III, 314-15.

The presence of the last three poems, which seem to be copied in the same hand as the *English Bards*, dates this MS not earlier than April, 1814.

20. MS 6821 *To Mr. Phillips the Bookseller* "Phillips—I hail Hampstead House"

The copy of this poem was written probably by Byron himself on four leaves at the back of Vol. IV of *The Works of Peter Pindar*. This fair MS copy covers seven octavo pages, some thirty lines of verse preceded by a brief prose explanation of the parody. The MS copy is not signed or dated, but the volume is inscribed on the half-title, "Byron 1811." The poem is not in the Coleridge edition and may be unpublished.

21. MS 6524 [*On Parting*] "The kiss, dear maid, thy lips has left"

2 pp. 4to. Untitled, undated, and unsigned. Watermark: John ——— 1811." The cloth folder in which the MS has been placed is entitled "On Parting."

First published in the 1812 edition of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. This MS seems to be the one used by Coleridge, for he noted a few but not all of the erasures and rejected readings (III, 23-24). He dated it March, 1811, for which he probably had evidence not available here.

22. MS 6790 [*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto II, stanza 9]

2 pp. 4to. Title: "Stanza 9th." The brief letter that follows the stanza is dated "Octr 14th 1811" and signed "B." No watermark.

At the top of the page Byron has written: "Stanza 9th for Canto 2d somewhat altered to avoid a recurrence in a former stanza." On the other side of the page are some fragmentary notes not in Byron's handwriting. The MS is pasted on a page at the front of a copy of the 1812 edition of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. The letter and stanza appeared in Prothero's edition of the *Letters and Journals*, II, 57-58.

23. MS 6531 "Come fetch to me a pint of wine"

1 p. 4to. 4 lines of verse. Untitled, undated, and unsigned. No watermark.

The verses are preceded by the explanation that they were repeated to Byron by Caroline Lamb at Melbourne House. The handwriting of this

comment differs somewhat from the more regular writing of the four lines of verse, but the general appearance of the script is not sufficiently unlike Byron's to warrant an absolute denial of authenticity. Below the quoted verses are an unrelated punning couplet on the name "Kildare," and two sententious lines on vice and virtue, certainly not in Byron's handwriting. On the other side of the page is a pen and pencil sketch of Byron, possibly the one "dashed off," as Byron says in his comment, by Caroline Lamb. The MS probably belongs to the year 1812. Apparently unpublished.

24. MS 6532 [Fragment of the *Giaour*]

2 pp. 4to. Untitled, undated, and unsigned. Watermark: "T Stains 1810."

The thirty-six lines of the MS correspond to ll. 832-58, 883-90, in the Coleridge edition (III, 125-27). This section is one of the many added to the seventh edition of the poem published in December, 1818 (Coleridge, III, 78-80).

25. MS 6536 [*Ode to Napoleon*]

13 pp. 4to. Untitled, undated, and unsigned. Watermarks: "1812" on 1 leaf; "Gater 1811" on another; some other leaves have a design without date.

Letters to Murray on April 10, 1814 (Prothero, III, 66-67), show that the MS was written at about that time. The stanzas in the MS are neither numbered nor arranged in the order in which they appeared in the 1814 edition. The last three leaves contain four stanzas (unnumbered) which appeared as 5, 13, 2, 3, in the published work. These four, which Byron inserted into the original twelve, are here bound in the order mentioned. The MS does not include the last three stanzas of the poem as printed by Coleridge; these were written later and were first published separately in Murray's 1831 edition of the *Works*. Moore added these three stanzas to the original sixteen in his 1832 edition.

26. MS 6533 *To One who promised on a lock of hair* "Vow not at all—but if thou must"

1 p. 4to. 8 lines. Title as listed. Signed: "Byron." Undated. No watermark. Fair copy.

Not in Byron's handwriting, but possibly in that of Augusta Leigh. The poem does not appear in the Coleridge edition and may be unpublished. Byron's authorship seems questionable.

27. MS 6543 "I saw thee weep"

2 pp. 4to. Untitled, undated. Signed with the "N" initial. Watermark: "J. Green 1814." The name "Byron" is written on the MS in a different hand and with different ink from that used in the text of the MS.

The poem was published in *Hebrew Melodies* (1815).

28. MS 6535 [Complete Text of the *Siege of Corinth*]

50 pp. Leaves 1-4, 11-22 are folio; 5-10, 23-24 are quarto. Untitled and unsigned. Dated: "Jy 30th 1815."

Watermarks:

- (a) Folio leaves 1-4: two marked "Allee 1813"; two marked without date but with a large figure of a woman with shield and javelin.

- (b) Quarto leaves 5-10: two marked "Ward and Middleton 1812"; others unmarked.
- (c) Folio leaves 11-22: six marked "1813"; others marked with the same woman figure as are those of the first section.
- (d) Quarto leaves 23-25: one marked "J Whatman 1814"; others unmarked.

This seems to be the⁸ Glenesk MS used and described by Coleridge (III, 448), although his reading of the watermarks does not quite agree with mine. The evidence of the watermarks, although not of course dating the various parts of the poem, does coincide with the evidence of other physical features of the MS (size of leaves, absence and presence of corrections, etc., to indicate various stages of composition. According to Coleridge, "this MS consists of portions of two or more fair copies of a number of detached scraps written at different times, together with two or three of the original scraps which had not been transcribed."

29. MS 6533 *From the French* "Must thou go, my glorious chief"

3 pp. 4to. Untitled, unsigned, and undated. Watermark: "J Whatman 1811." Fair copy. A printed clipping from "Private Letter from Brussels" has been pinned at the head of the text. A penned note on line 16, from the same source, is written at the bottom of the page.

The MS coincides exactly with the version printed by Coleridge (III, 428-30), but does not contain any of the erasures or corrections noted by him. The copy was probably made by Lady Byron.

30. MS 6533 *Stanzas for Music* "Bright be the place of thy soul"

1 p. 4to. Untitled and unsigned. Dated: "1815." No watermark. Written on verso in the same handwriting as the text is the note: "'Bright be the place of thy soul' First and second copies 1815." At the top of the MS leaf is a penciled note in different hand: "Fair copy by Lady B. Original in Lord Wentworth's estate."

The MS has several erasures and corrections, probably made by Byron, and all of these are recorded by Coleridge (III, 426-27). He also notes one correction that does not appear on this MS. P. E. More in his Cambridge edition dates the composition as 1808.

31. MS 6533 "Ah hail, Mont Blanc"

2 pp. 4to. 5 six-line stanzas. Untitled, undated, and unsigned. Watermark: "J Whatman Turkey Mill 1824." Fair copy. Head-note: "Said to be written by Lord Byron in the album of the Union Hotel at Chamouni near Geneva. Feb. 14 1825."

This copy may have been made by Augusta Leigh. The poem does not appear in the Coleridge edition and may be unpublished.

32. MS 6530 [Fragment of *Don Juan*, Canto IX, stanzas 1-8, Canto III, stanzas 1-2]

4 pp. 4to. Title: "Don Juan Canto 9." Dated: "July 10th 1819." Unsigned. Watermarked without date, but with an indistinct design and name. Bound with a silhouette of Byron cut by Mrs. Leigh Hunt, a preliminary sketch and a finished water-color of Juan and Haidee.

The first six of these "Wellington" stanzas take up three pages of the MS. On page four are two stanzas originally numbered 7 and 8 and then

renumbered 9 and 10. These are the two which Byron used in Canto III. Written across these stanzas on the upper part of the page are two others which appear as 7 and 8 of Canto IX as published.

While Moore was visiting Byron in Venice in 1819, Byron read to Moore the "Wellington" stanzas as part of Canto III (see Moore's account in his *Life of Lord Byron* [Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle, 1840], II, 132-33). After Byron decided to use only two of the stanzas of this MS in Canto III, he probably gave it to Moore; for, three years later, on July 12, 1822, when Byron was at work on Canto IX, he wrote to Moore asking for the MS of the "Wellington" stanzas (Prothero, VI, 96). After Moore sent him the MS, he probably wrote the two new stanzas 7 and 8 across the page and then gave it to someone to copy. This is not the MS which Coleridge mentioned (VI, 373) and which he conjectured to be in the handwriting of Countess Guiccioli. That copy is part of the complete MS of Canto IX now in New Haven, Connecticut.

33. MS 6538 [*Sardanapalus*]

This large volume of MSS contains the following parts, arranged in this order:

- (a) *Preface to the Tragedies*. 2 pp. 4to. Untitled, undated, and unsigned. Watermarked without date: "Hoc Auspice Quid Non Ausint Praestentq Artes."
- (b) *Note to the Tragedies*. 12 pp. 4to. Undated and unsigned. Watermarks, all without date: 1 leaf with a circular design enclosing the head of a man; 2 leaves with "Hoc Auspice Quid Non Ausint Praestentq Artes"; 1 leaf with "Sub Umbra Alarum Tuarum"; 1 folded leaf with the circular design on one half and with the second of the two Latin phrases on the other.

Although this MS is one of the few of the Texas collection in which Byron took the trouble to number the leaves, they are not bound in proper order. The binder evidently regarded the *Preface* and the *Note* as one prose piece, for someone in pencil has numbered the single leaf of the *Preface* "1st," and the first leaf of the *Note* "6th," and then placed this first leaf of the *Note* after the one that Byron had numbered "5th." The *Note* was probably written at about the same time as the *Preface*, and both a little later than the play itself. Byron published the *Note* in the appendix to the *Two Foscari* (pp. 325-29) which appeared in the same volume with *Cain* and *Sardanapalus* (1821). The title on the MS was abandoned in the publication. Prothero published it in the *Letters and Journals*, VI, 387-89.

- (c) [*Complete Text of the play*.] 144 pp. fol. Title: "Sardanapalus a tragedy in five acts." Dated at beginning: "Ravenna, January 13th 1821." Dated at end: "Ravenna May 27th 1821." The curious "N" signature appears twice, once at the end of the last act, and again at the bottom of the same page following Byron's explanation of the composition: "I began this drama on the 13th of January 1821 and continued the two first acts very slowly and at long intervals. The three last acts were written since the 13th of May 1821 (this present month) that is to say in a fortnight."

Watermarks: The first 18 leaves (36 pages of Act I) are watermarked without date, but with the initials "VB" below a fleur-de-lis design. The remaining 54 leaves are unmarked. The differences in the paper roughly correspond to the periods of composition.

- (d) At the very end of the volume is one folio leaf, written in a different and regular hand, containing quotations from Mitford's *Greece* concerning Sardanapalus. Unsigned and undated. Watermark without date: "VB" below fleur-de-lis design. On the final page of the volume Byron has written: "Notes for the play of Sardanapalus."

34. MS 6534 [*Cain: a Mystery*]

The MS volume contains two parts:

- (a) *Preface to Cain*. 4 pp. 4to. Title as listed. Unsigned, but dated: "Ra[venna] Sept 10th 1821." Watermark: "Sub Umbra Alarum Tuarum" without date. Fair copy.

This MS may be the one used by Coleridge. It contains the passage beginning "I am prepared to be accused of Manicheism," which Coleridge said he took from "an original draft" for his 1901 edition and which was omitted from Murray's 1821 edition (V, 209). The MS lacks the last two paragraphs of the *Preface* as published by Murray in 1821, and also by Coleridge in 1901.

- (b) [*Complete Text of the play*]. 86 pp. fol. Title: "Cain a mystery in three Acts." Dated at the beginning: "Ra[venna] July 16th 1821." Dated at the end: "Ravenna Sept 9, 1821." Twice signed with the "N" symbol. Fair copy. Watermarked with the same design of fleur-de-lis and the initials "VB" as are the first 18 leaves of the *Sardanapalus* MS.

The MS of the main text of the play seems to be the "MS. M." consulted by Coleridge. A cursory check indicates that the rejected readings and erasures noted by Coleridge appear on this MS.

35. MS 6541 [*Don Juan*, Canto VIII]

48 pp. fol. The twelve leaves are of two different sizes, the first four being smaller than the remaining eight. Title: "Don Juan Canto 8th." Dated on first page: "1822," and on the last page: "Jy 11 1822." This last date is almost illegible.* Signed twice with the "N" symbol, once after stanza 138, and then again after the five stanzas that Byron added later. Watermarks: on the first four leaves, "La Briglia" (?) without date; on remaining eight, "Almasso" and "GM" with a design.

This MS which contains the complete text, with many corrections, is probably an early draft. Byron has numbered both the leaves and the stanzas.

36. MS 6539 *The Island or Christian and his Comrades*

42 pp. fol. with one leaf smaller than the others. Title as listed. Dated: on first page, "Jy 11th 1823"; at end of Canto I, "Jy 14 1823"; on last page, "Jy 10 1823." Signed at the end of Canto I and at the end of the entire poem with the "N" symbol. No watermark except on the single smaller leaf which has the fleur-de-lis design and the initials "VB." Fair copy of the complete text with every tenth line numbered.

Because of the curious problem arising from the various dates on the MS, I have had others verify my reading of them. This MS seems to be the "MS. D." used by Coleridge, since he noted most of the erasures, although not all of them, and since he printed the dates at the end of

* I am indebted here to the reading made by R. H. Griffith and H. M. Jones for their *Additions to the Catalogue of the Byron Memorial Exhibition at the University of Texas*, April 18-May 4, 1924, p. 92.

Canto I and at the end of the poem approximately as I have read them (V, 577, 639). However, in his introduction to the poem, he referred to the date at the end of Canto I as January 10, 1823, and suggested that the date at the end of the poem be taken as February 14, 1823. He did not mention the "Jy 11th 1823" that appears on the first page of the MS. Byron himself may have made some mistake in making his fair copy, or may be indicating that he wrote part of Canto I later than the rest of the poem.

37. MS 6531 "When youthful Heppel's name was lost in Coke's"

1 p. 4to. An epigram of four lines on "Coke's Philogenitiveness," written as a postscript to a brief letter to Leigh Hunt, dated "Jy 20 1823" and signed "NB." No watermark. Written in pencil is the remark "unpublished with verses."

Neither the letter nor the epigram appears in the Coleridge-Prothero edition of Byron's works, and may be unpublished, as the marginal note suggests.

B. MANUSCRIPTS OF POETRY ATTRIBUTED TO LADY BYRON

The seventeen manuscripts of poetry attributed to Lady Byron provide few identifying bibliographical data.⁹ Five have no titles. All but one are unsigned, and only two are dated. Except for items 1, 2, and 11, all have the penciled tag "Lady Byron," which was evidently written by one person, but not by Lady Byron herself. The handwriting of the texts generally seems to belong to one person and closely resembles that of Lady Byron's letters, although it is much plainer and more deliberately regular. All manuscripts but one are fair copies without erasures or corrections. The paper, with five exceptions, is not watermarked. One manuscript, item 6, is obviously a copy of a sonnet by Joseph Blanco White, but lacks any notation of that fact; and it is possible that certain other manuscripts in this group are copies of poems by other writers, made by Lady Byron or by an unknown person. In view of the scanty evidence of authenticity offered by the manuscripts themselves, the following description has been condensed into a more abbreviated form than that used for the survey of the manuscripts of Byron's poetry.

1. MS 6533 *Byromania* "Woman! how truly called a 'harmless thing'"

2 pp. 4to. 31 lines.

Published in part by Miss Mayne in her *Life of Lady Byron*, p. 44. She dates it 1812 and refers to a MS note that does not appear on this copy. The MS does not have the usual annotation "Lady Byron" that appears on most of the MSS in this group.

2. MS 6533 *Divination* "The infant in his mother's smiles"

2 pp. 4to. 7 quatrains. No penciled note assigning this poem to Lady Byron.

⁹ It is to be noted that all of these manuscripts are to be found in two places: 6533, the packet of *Byron Family Letters*; and 6537, *Autograph Letters of Lord Byron, His Mother and His Wife*, a very large volume bound in blue leather by Sanders.

3. MS 6533 "A crown surrounds the Cross with a lucid globe"
Fragment of 3 lines.
4. MS 6533 *A Sonnet without a Tail / Rock Music* "Thou scorner
of the rude uncultur'd mind"
1 p. 8vo. 8 lines.
5. MS 6537 *Sonnet on Reuben's Picture* "She sits upon the gory
battlefield"
1 p. 8vo. unfolded.
6. MS [copy] 6533 "Mysterious Night! when our first parent
knew"
1 p. 8vo. Sonnet. This is a copy of *To Night* by Joseph Blanco White,
but there is no acknowledgment of his authorship.
7. MS 6537 *To the Widow* "Sigh not for masses to endow the lost
one with thy lover"
1 p. 8vo. unfolded. 2 quatrains.
8. MS 6533 *On leaving my Cottage at Dover where I had spent
the winter. / Sonnet* "Thou shelter from the winter's wrath!
Thou nest"
1 p. 8vo.
9. MS 6533 *Sounds from the Shore* "In the water music that lulls
me to rest"
2 stanzas, 6 lines each.
A Character "I marvel not that she who once could love"
2 pp. 4to. Sonnet. Sig.: "Lady B." Watermark: "G W 1832."
The signature is not a characteristic one and was probably not written
by Lady Byron. These two poems appear again on another quarto leaf
(no watermark) in a slightly different handwriting, without signature,
but with the usual penciled tag "Lady Byron." The word "truth" follows
the title of the second poem, and there are a few minor spelling changes.
This second copy contains the following note: "I send these lines as
suggested by the subject of my letter—they were written some years ago
—I think you wish to have my verses not for their own sake but for
mine. They are indeed more myself than I am—if you can understand
such a paradox."
10. MS 6533 "Oh no! 'tis not the stranger's hand"
1 p. 8vo. 3 quatrains. Dated: "1833."
11. MS 6533 *To the Anti-Slavery Advocate* "Thy cause is holy,
doubt not thou 'tis strong"
1 p. 8vo. 12 lines. On the reverse side is part of a letter or journal
dated: "Brighton, October 16."

12. MS 6533 *To Georgiana* "Thou has a heart, how like my own"
2 pp. 4to. 3 six-line stanzas.
There is no penciled note assigning this poem to Lady Byron. If the Georgiana here mentioned is Augusta Leigh's daughter, it seems somewhat unlikely that the poem was written by Lady Byron.
13. MS 6533 *The Cathedral* "Around, above me, vanish'd ages float"
2 pp. 4to. 2 sonnets. Watermark: "Joynson 1843."
14. MS 6533 "While angels at the lighted altar stand"
3 pp. 4to. 10 three-line stanzas with refrain. Watermark: "1845."
There is also an earlier draft of this poem in the same hand containing seven stanzas with some erasures.
15. MS 6533 *On reading lines to ——'s memory* "Why, since thy memory to others gives"
1 p. 8vo. 2 six-line stanzas. Watermark: "—ynson 1848."
16. MS 6537 "As one, in suffering all who suffers nothing"
"Ye who know Passion but as tempest-born"
1 p. 4to. unfolded. 2 sonnets. Watermark: "Nash 1851" (or possibly 1831).
17. MS 6537 *The Minister* "The dedicated man! In vain for him"
1 p. 4to. Sonnet. Sig.: "A I N B." Dated: "1851."

C. MANUSCRIPTS OF POETRY RELATING TO BYRON

The six manuscripts of poetry that concern Byron, written by his friends or acquaintances, seem for the most part to be copies, and not in the handwriting of the various authors. The earliest one, that by Miss Pigot, was certainly written by her. Another may be addressed to Byron during his last London years. The other four, which were written after Byron's death, do not provide sufficient bibliographical evidence to justify an assurance that they represent original autographs. The character of the handwriting on the third, fourth, and fifth manuscripts in the following list is sufficiently like Augusta Leigh's to permit the tentative supposition that the copies were made by her. It will be noted that the last five of these manuscripts belong to the miscellaneous packet of the *Byron Family Letters*, mentioned in the general introduction.

1. MS 6747 *The Wonderful History of Lord Byron and His Dog* "Of old Mother Hubbard no more shall be said"
26 pp. 12vo. Unsigned. Dated: "March 20th 1807." No watermark.
Endorsement: "When I gave the enclosed parody to Lord Byron to read, he was so much amused with it, that he asked me, as a favor to present it to 'Little Mary Becher' and I had great pleasure in granting his re-

quest. This I certify, in after years. Elizabeth Bridget Pigot June the first 1854." Fair copy.

This poem by Miss Pigot was illustrated by her in water colors and stitched in booklet form.

2. MS 6533 "From thee—such strains! they breathe of woe"

1 p. 4to. 4 quatrains. Untitled, unsigned, and undated. No watermark. Fair copy.

The copy may have been made by Augusta Leigh. Since there is no evidence that it was written by Lady Byron, and since certain references in the text, "the fever of a mind decay'd," "thy mighty mind" with "its magic power," suggest that the poem was addressed to Byron, it is included here.

3. MS 6533 *Lines on the Portrait of the Late Lord Byron Painted by R Westall Esq. R. A.* By John Taylor Esq. "No wonder, Westall, that thy skill could trace."

3 pp. 4to. 6 six-line stanzas. Undated and unsigned. Watermark: "Simmons 1820." Fair copy.

4. MS 6533 *The 'Living Dog' & the 'Dead Lion'* Thomas Moore to Leigh Hunt "Next week will be published (as 'Lives' are the rage)"

2 pp. 4to. Undated and unsigned except for "13 July." Watermark: "Hagar & Son 1825." Fair copy.

This poem, with the phrase "Thomas Moore to Leigh Hunt" omitted, was printed in the *Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* (London, 1840), VIII, 267-68 (see also Prothero, II, 208), and there dated 1828, Exeter Change, T. Pidcock. The poem expresses Moore's indignation with Hunt's *Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries*.

5. MS 6533 *To Greece, on the Death of Lord Byron* "Land, where the father's bard attuned the lyre"

1 p. 4to. 20 lines. Undated and unsigned. Fair copy.

Lord Byron "Bright son of genius: Fare thee well"

1 p. 4to. 2 six-line stanzas. Sig.: "M. G. Lewis." Dated: "August 13, 1824." Watermark: "Pines and Smith 1840." Fair copy.

These two poems on the same manuscript leaf are written in the same hand. The watermark indicates that the manuscript date and the signature cannot be taken as an original autograph. Besides, M. G. Lewis, if it is "Monk" Lewis that is referred to, died in 1818.

6. MS 6533 *On the Death of Lord Byron* "Like a meteor he bless'd and as quick disappear'd"

1 p. 8vo. 2 quatrains. Undated and unsigned. No watermark. Fair copy. The MS has a note on one line referring to *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*.

The handwriting is strikingly unlike that of the previous three manuscripts and is probably not Augusta Leigh's.

HELMBRECHT'S SOUVENIRS

By GEORGE NORDMEYER

Among the souvenirs which the young Meier Helmbrecht brings home from his stay at "court" are a pair of shoes. Lines 1081-87 read in MS A: *dem knechte schuehe mit riemen. die het Er annder nieman, so verre gefu^eeret. noch mit hannden geru^eeret. so hu^bsch was Helmbrecht. Wa^r er noch seines vaters knecht. Er het jn lassen one schuech.*

When Friedrich Panzer brought out his reconstructed text of the *Meier* in 1902, he changed line 1082 after MS B, which has *anders*. In the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 27, 108, he defended this emendation as follows:

v. 1082 liest Haupt mit [A] *ander niemen*; ich kann dem aber keinen brauchbaren sinn abgewinnen. Worin soll die *hövescheit* liegen, dass Helmbrecht die schuhe für niemand anders als gerade den knecht mitbrachte, und was soll dann 1086 [i. e., *Wa^r er noch seines vaters knecht. Er het in lassen one schuech*] heissen? Der knecht hat sich seither doch nicht geändert. Man muss also wol mit [B] *anders* lesen; d.h.: auf andere art hätte Helmbrecht für niemanden schuhe gebracht; so lange er zu hause knecht war, wäre es dem höfischen jungen nie eingefallen, für den *vrieman* etwa ein paar schuhe anzurühren. Erst jetzt, wo er als junker heimkehrt, darf seine *hövescheit* es sich leisten, dem knecht ein paar als geschenk zu bringen.

In 1904, Gustav Ehrismann reviewed Panzer's edition in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 36, 275 ff., and remarked:

Auch v. 1082 möchte ich Haupts . . . lesung *die het er ander niemen* vorziehen . . . die verse 1082-84 bezeichnen also die geringe qualität der schuhe . . . die schuhe sind so schlecht, dass Helmbrecht sie für sonst niemanden als eben für einen knecht so weit hergebracht, noch mit händen angerührt hätte; so höfisch war er geworden, nämlich damit, dass er ihm überhaupt etwas mitbrachte (und wären es nur schlechte bauernschuhe), denn, wäre er selbst noch knecht in seines vaters hause, dann hätte er ihm von vorn herein nie ein reisegeschenk gegeben. Auf "höfisch" liegt die ironie in der antithese, dass Helmbrecht nun so galant war, dem knecht ein geschenk, aber doch so tölpelhaft, nur so ein geringes, zu geben, das er ausserdem noch so weit mitschleppen musste (auch der magd bringt er nur dürftige dinge mit, im gegensatz zu den wertvollen geschenken, die er für die "damen" des bauernhofes, seine mutter und schwester, zusammengestohlen).

At first glance, Ehrismann's exposition seems plausible and convincing. Closer examination, however, will reveal some flaws, and I shall try to show that his explanation is rather complicated, and that he advocates more than the mere alteration of a word.

Ehrismann's comment rests on two points: (1) Helmbrecht's *hövescheit*, and (2) the worthlessness of the shoes. To Ehrismann, Helmbrecht's *hövescheit* means two things at one time. First, it is

taken at face value: the *hövescheit* refers to Helmbrecht's courteousness in not forgetting the *knecht* entirely. The contrary would be that he would not have given him anything at all, but would have kept whatever he had for himself. Here, Helmbrecht's *hövescheit* is the virtue of being considerate and magnanimous. Then, the word *hövescheit* is taken ironically, as a gesture to the audience, as it were: Helmbrecht's *hövescheit* is a fake, it is not a genuine sign of generosity, in fact, it is the exact opposite of magnanimity, it is miserliness, because the gift has no value. But Ehrismann goes further. When he translates: "für sonst niemanden als eben für einen knecht," he seems to imply that Helmbrecht himself knows that the shoes have little value; they are just about good enough for a *knecht*, which charges Helmbrecht with a subtlety that I find unconvincing. Suddenly Helmbrecht has become a party to the irony imputedly conveyed by the *sô hövesch*; he knows very well that his gesture of generosity is merely a gesture, but he hopes he will get away with it! This makes of Helmbrecht an arch-scoundrel, a shrewd and calculating knave. In this way, it is easy to find a contradiction in Ehrismann's exegesis. First we are told that Helmbrecht knew that the gift had little value ("die schuhe sind so schlecht, dass Helmbrecht sie für sonst niemanden als eben für einen knecht so weit hergebracht . . . hätte"). Then we hear that he was ignorant enough to give a present that was worthless ("so tölpelhaft, nur so ein geringes, zu geben"). We are almost tempted to ask: did he know that the shoes were worthless, or did he not? What Ehrismann means is no doubt this: Helmbrecht knew that the shoes had little value; what he did not know was that it was *unhövesch* to give a worthless present. Proof: "auch der magd bringt er nur dürftige dinge mit, im gegensatz zu den wertvollen geschenken, die er für die 'damen' des bauernhofes . . . zusammengestohlen."

Thus, on careful examination, the seemingly casual remark about the maid's presents is actually the pivot on which the whole argument turns. Still more, we must realize this: Ehrismann's explanation requires that we differentiate very sharply between what Helmbrecht is imagined to know, and what we, the audience, are supposed to know. Helmbrecht knew only that it was *hövesch* to bring gifts, souvenirs. We know that true *hövescheit* also means that the gifts should not be trifling! And this means that we must ask the question: even if the context demands that we know that the shoes are worthless, is it equally obvious that Helmbrecht knew they were without value? I believe that Ehrismann's opinion on this point is open to doubt.

For example, let us take the maid's presents. Are they really worthless? We read as follows (lines 1088-89 in MS A): *dem Freyweib ein haubttuech. bracht Er und einen pendel rot. die zwaÿ warn der*

diern not. Is the last line ironical comment? If it is, it fits a precious gift as much as a shoddy one, for presents that are far above anything the maid could use in her station in life would be just as superfluous for her as would gifts that are no better than the things she already has.

Now, what is the *haubttuech*? A *tüechelein*, i. e., a fine *tuoch*, is mentioned in *Helmbrecht*, line 166 (MS A). Here Helmbrecht is fitted out for his impending trip to court. His equipment consists of his famous cap, linen, clothes, coat of mail, sword, two coats, dagger, and pouch. But this is not enough: he feels that he must also have a *zwarkus*, a tunic, to complete his outfit. To get it, his mother takes her (presumably last and best) piece of cloth out of the *valde*, and sells it so that she can buy material for him: *des [the tüechelein] wart si âne leider durch des sunes kleider* (166-67).¹ This comment seems to suggest that the *tüechelein* was particularly close to the mother's heart, a highly cherished possession, given up only somewhat reluctantly. There can be no doubt that it had considerable value. And it may have been simply an expensive piece of material. But why *tüechelein*, and not simply *tuoch*? It seems to me that a *tüechelein* which is spoken of as though it were an especially precious item of a woman's personal effects is more likely to be some piece of finery than just any piece of good material. And when we remember that in the Swiss dialect of today a *Tüechli* means a kerchief *par excellence*, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that the *tüechelein* was a kerchief, a *houbettuoch*. This kerchief of the Meierin was of considerable worth: it bought Helmbrecht a suit such as no other farmer had ever worn. But how about the maid's kerchief? Of course, we do not know for sure that it, too, was a valuable piece; but it is by no means certain that it was a trifling present. In fact, the exact opposite is suggested by the use of the word *houbettuoch* by Berthold von Regensburg.² In a sermon "Von fünf schedelichen sünden" Berthold inveighs against the deadly sin of intemperance in eating and drinking. He thunders first against the poor man who, because of his debauchery, is led to lying, deceiving, stealing, and robbing. Even worse, he neglects his wife and children, who must now go around ill-fed and ill-clothed. But, Berthold continues, even if one is well off, over-indulgence in food and drink is unbecoming to a gentleman or a gentlewoman, for it is sinful. Formerly, Berthold goes on, women were so brought up that moderation in eating and drinking was one of the main themes of education and etiquette. But now: *Daz ist nû gar unde gar ein gewonheit worden: biz der man daz swert vertrinket, sô hât sie den snüerrinc unde daz houbettouch vertronken*. Pfeiffer's text is inexact here; the MSS have after *swert*: *verdrinket so hat sie den sleiger von dem heubt verdrunken*

¹ All normalized *Helmbrecht* quotations are from Panzer's edition of 1929.

² Normalized quotations from Pfeiffer's edition of Berthold.

ir ein michel teil und nit alle biz der man den hut verdrincket so hat sie den snüerrinc unde den heubetduoch³ verdrunken (MS A). The sleiger, the snüerrinc, the heubetduoch: they are all well-known articles of a woman's headgear, and they are no paltry things here.

On *bendel* the evidence is less clear. It belongs with all the finery women wear, and Lexer mentions *ûz golde ein bendel wol gedrât, sîdîn bendel, harbant, pentel und gefrens*. If one article was valuable, the other probably was not entirely worthless either.

But there are indications in the "souvenir"-passage itself which shed light on the value of the presents Helmbrecht brings home.³ Wernher begins by saying that it is meet and right for Helmbrecht to unpack his souvenirs. With a direct turn to his audience, he continues: if you knew what they were, you'd laugh about the story. The first "gift" which Helmbrecht drags out is a whetstone. We laugh, for a whetstone is not an appropriate souvenir: it is not a *gämelichez dinc*. But is it a worthless gift? Quite the contrary! No mower ever put a better one in his whetting jug, we read. We almost hear young Helmbrecht telling his father what gems he brought home for him. A scythe is next: no hand ever wielded a better one. And an axe: no smith ever made one finer. Even if we, the audience, should see but little value in these presents (note the aside: *hei welh gebürkleinât daz was*), there can be no question that, for young Helmbrecht, they are very precious things; for him they really are jewels in his heap of plunder. It is perhaps also ridiculous that Helmbrecht should bring his father a whetstone, a scythe, an axe, and a hoe; for, of all things, these cannot have been rare items on the Meier's farm.

For his mother and sister, Helmbrecht brings expensive clothes. The mother gets a *fuhspeiz*, Gotelind receives a *gebinde* and a *borte*. This, too, is comical, but for different reasons. First of all, Helmbrecht's knightly munificence is the result of his career as a robber: all the things are stolen. Furthermore, the articles he brings are most inappropriate to the milieu of the recipients; we hear, for

³ The text after Panzer, lines 1049-90: *ez ist billich unde reht, / daz der junge Helmbrecht / ûz ziehe, ob er iht bringe / von hove gämelicher dinge / dem vater, der muoter, der swester. / jâ zewäre, und wester / was ez allez wære, / ir lachtet der mære. / dem vater er brähte einen wetzestein, / daz nie mäder dehein / in kumh bezzern gebant, / und eine segense, daz nie hand / sô guote gezöch durch daz gras / (hei welh gebürkleinât daz was!) / und brähte im ein bile, / daz in maneger wile, / gesmit sô guotez nie kein smit, / und eine hacken dâ mit, / ein fuhspeiz sô guoter, / den bräht er siner muoter, / Helmbrecht, der junge knabe, / den zöch er einem pfaffen abe, / ob erz roubte oder stäle, / vil ungerne ich daz hale, / wær ich sin an ein ende komen, / einem krämer hêt er genomen / ein sîdîn gebinde, / daz gab er Gotelinde, / und einen borten wol beslagen, / den billicher solde tragen, / eines edelen mannes kint / dan sin swester Gotelint, / dem knechte schuoe mit riemen, / (die het er ander niemen, / sô verre gefüeret / noch mit handen gerüeret: / sô hövesch was Helmbrecht, / wær er noch sines vater kneht, / er hêt in lāsen āne schuoch) / dem frîwibe ein houbettuoch / bräht er und einen bendel rôt: / der zweier was der dierne nôt.*

example, that Gotelind's presents are things which *billicher solde tragen eines edelen mannes kint dan sin swester Gotelint*. These words indicate beyond question that Gotelind's presents have considerable value.

On the maid's *houbettuoch* and *bendel* I have already commented. It is at least probable that they, too, were valuable presents. Furthermore, the gifts for the maid appear ludicrous for the same reason Gotelind's presents are ridiculous: they do not fit the rustic setting (ironically: *der zweier was der dierne nô*). If so, all the things Helmbrecht brings for the women on the farm have this in common: they are all costly gifts, but they are all ill suited to the environment of the persons they are meant for. (We shall see that the presents for the men similarly have a common attribute.) There is no evidence that the young Helmbrecht thought them to be trifles; in fact, the whole tenor of the context points to the opposite.

Now for the farm hand's presents. Ehrismann argues that the *schuohe mit riemen* were ordinary peasant shoes, of the type commonly called *buntschuo*. But then, why the deliberate switch from the customary name of a common article to *schuohe mit riemen*? Again, I am reminded of the scene where young Helmbrecht first sets out. In line 321 we read that he was equipped with *hosen und schuoen von korrûn* (cordovan leather). Now, when the poet begins line 1081 with *dem knehte schuohe*—did he perhaps make a slight pause here, leading his audience to expect him to go on with something like "von korrûn"? Was this the reason why he did not use the common term *buntschuo*, so that he could avail himself of the droll nuance of supplying the opposite to what was anticipated, following the recital about such presents as *fuhspeiz*, *gebînde*, and *borte*? But then, does this not mean that the shoes are deliberately marked as being not worth much? As far as we as audience are addressed, the answer must be yes: *schuohe mit riemen* are as "precious" as a whetstone, a scythe, or an axe. But for Helmbrecht matters stood differently. We, the audience, found the father's things ridiculous as gifts, but for a man of Helmbrecht's horizon they had considerable value. For in his outlook he had remained a simple yokel in spite of his life at "court." The things he had appreciated best when he was a farmer's son are still the things he values most, now that he has become a "knight." That is why we see him parade a whetstone, a scythe, an axe, and a hoe before his father. This, then, is the humor: the things he brings home show that his scale of values is still that of a rustic simpleton. And to him, even such commonplace things as *schuohe mit riemen* must have been precious things still, not to be treated lightly (had he not stolen them?), nor given away easily. Once again, as was the case with the presents for his father, we find the indirect quotation of Helmbrecht's own thoughts or even

words: in different circumstances, he would not have lugged these shoes all this distance, or even picked them up (as a gift for someone else); not, I think, because they did not seem worth very much to him, but because he would have kept them for himself. In what different circumstances? Answer: *wær er noch sînes vater kneht, er hêt in lâzen âne schuoch*. Neither for the *kneht*, nor for any one else (*niemen*) would he ordinarily have brought these shoes along; we must not forget that they, too, had to come out of the pile of plunder Helmbrecht had collected so industriously.

Now Helmbrecht's acts seem consonant with all we know about him; he is just a naïve cowhand trying to be generous, with hilarious effect. And for those of us who like neatness and symmetry in an argument, there is this parallelism: just as the presents which Helmbrecht distributes among the women have a common denominator in that they are all slightly *hors de milieu*, so all the presents that the men receive share in being gifts of great value in Helmbrecht's eyes, but paltry objects in ours.

Thus, I feel that Ehrismann's interpretation of this passus is labored. He supposes that Helmbrecht himself considered the shoes of little value. This seems to me untenable in view of the whole tenor and all context parallels in the "souvenir"-passage.

As for the text, I do not think it matters much whether we read *anders niemen* with MS B or *ander niemen* with MS A: either reading will fit the interpretation expounded above. In the first case, *anders* expresses the contrast to *sô hovesch*, and the lines *wær er noch* etc. are an elaborating addendum to *anders*, i. e., how he would have behaved in different circumstances, meaning formerly. In the second case, the contrast to *sô hovesch* would be given through *ander niemen*, and the lines *wær er noch* etc. are either a second contrast to the *sô hovesch*, or merely an enlarging aside.

I personally think that *anders* is the easier reading of the two and thus conclude with a hazardous guess: MS A (which is usually more accurate than MS B) miswrote *ander* for *anders* because the copy which the scribe used had the termination *-er* above the line as an apostrophe, to which the *s* had been indistinctly joined.

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SOME NOTES ON CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By DEREK VAN ABBÉ

During World War II much unscientific thinking about the Germans was allowed to pass muster, above all in propaganda for internal consumption. Amongst the occupied nations hatred for the Nazi war-machine was understandable: unpardonable, however, were certain reflections of this hatred outside tortured Europe. It is noteworthy that at no period did the French intelligentsia succumb to this form of muddled thinking—certain issues of Resistance publications even went out of their way to print passages from the more enlightened German writers, using them to stress the depths to which Fascist tyranny had brought a once cultured nation.

This is natural if we consider the position of France and Germany in Europe. Both are (or have been) important states and, being neighbours, it is understandable that their cultural relations should have been of the closest. This they always have been: however, as Germany developed into a modern state more slowly, and always by slower stages, than France, it was natural that the relation should have been, initially, mainly one-sided, French influence on Germany having been vastly more important than German influence on France—up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. From then on we see a curious interpenetration of influences, the study of which is, in my opinion, helpful to us in understanding many aspects of twentieth-century life in the two countries. The object of this paper is, therefore, to show some of these influences.

The movement of literary ideas in France and Germany was influenced in the nineteenth century in the first place by the tremendous revolutions in the sphere of ideas which took place in that epoch. The nineteenth century in France saw the rise of the middle class to the first rank in all spheres of activity. The power the middle class manifested in 1789 it finally grasped, after a number of vicissitudes, in 1875. This fact is fundamental because in Germany the nineteenth century is merely the story of the *struggle* for power of that same class, a struggle which, frequently rewarded with an illusory success, was at no time in that century won, and which, we can now see, *never* was really won. This initial comparison must, therefore, be our starting point, because it is bound to have influenced the way in which the artists living in each of the countries absorbed into themselves the ideas coming to them from the other.

The triumph of the commercial, individualistic, and scientific spirit in France is symbolised, above all, by the positivist philosophy of

Auguste Comte. There were tendencies towards such a philosophy in the thinking of Holbach and Helvetius before the Revolution; it is certainly embodied in the *actions* of Napoleon Bonaparte; and it culminates at the end of the century in the great wave of scientific achievement epitomised by Pasteur, Perrin, and the Curies. Comte's positivism is a body of ideas very easily grasped. Comte argued that the highest form of knowledge is simple description of the data given us by our senses. The faith in the power of science to explain all sense-data is shown by Comte's three Ages of Mankind: the *theological*, in which natural events were explained as due to gods; the *metaphysical*, in which an explanation was sought in the agency of impersonal "forces" and "influences"; and finally the modern *positive* Age, in which everything is explicable by formula, as in the exact sciences.

The intellectual atmosphere was vastly different in Germany. That general feeling of satisfaction with life which gave French intellectual circles such a belief in Progress and Science had no single counterpart across the Rhine. Meagre political gains, overshadowed at first by the autocratic Prince Metternich, then by Bismarck, then again by Kaiser William II—a very slow progress towards industrial and commercial prosperity which gained momentum only near the end of the century—an obstinate continuance of first feudal, then despotic, and always obtrusive *Kleinstaaterei*—all these combined to sap the self-confidence of the middle class and its intelligentsia and to remove them from within reach of any optimistic religion or belief.

However, there were consolations. If it is true that the French Revolution, by its clean sweep of the political and social board, made of unhappy France the nineteenth-century testing-ground for political and social experiments, it is equally true that the German intellectuals, not being under the immediate impact of such political disturbances and upheavals, were all the better placed to consider them philosophically, to think them out to their logical conclusion, and to build around them a metaphysic—in the true meaning of the term, an interpretation of them from the viewpoint of Eternity—an interpretation all the more potent for being abstract. Thus it is not without significance that the philosopher Kant in his distant Königsberg security, almost alone in Europe, continued to express enthusiasm for the French Revolution even after the excesses of the "Terror" had scared off everyone else. Kant was no bloody revolutionary, but the scientific habit of mind which was ingrained in him made him realise the full political and philosophical significance of what was occurring in France, just as it led him to write his treatise on Perpetual Peace, a blueprint for a United Nations organisation which has, as a blueprint, yet to find its equal. In other words, Kant's

isolation was as necessary to the keenness of his perception as was his mathematical research.

It is, you will see, not accidental that the nineteenth century produced almost no great thinkers in France except for Comte, the prophet of optimistic Science. But Germany produced in rapid succession Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Marx, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Feuerbach, and finally Nietzsche and Hartmann. Not all of these philosophers painted logical or clear pictures of the world and its workings, but all gave some kind of answer to those problems of metaphysics and ethics which Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu, and Holbach had raised. And their very existence we owe, I believe, precisely to the fact that Germany was a receiver of impressions and ideas from the West, which ideas, being impossible of initiation in actual life in the semi-feudal Germany of Metternich and Bismarck, were transformed and weighed in the philosophical balance by the keenest brains of that country.

Schopenhauer is as good an example as any other. He was born in the important commercial city of Danzig, the son of one of its richest merchants. His family was thus town patriciate of the type described in Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*, wealthy, self-assured, and, one would think, inclined to optimism. But young Arthur (so named by his father so that he should be called by the same appellation in French, English, and German—a significant trait) was educated in France and England and could read Voltaire and the *Times* as fluently as he could read Goethe. As a result, when he came to settle down in Germany, he found it impossible. Hamburg, whither his family had removed, seemed stiflingly commercial; Weimar, where his young widowed mother held her court in a fashionable salon, seemed pretentious and small, and the knowledge taught in the universities he attended seemed, to one of his Gallic training, tautologous and pretentious also. Is it any wonder that his ideas about life became coloured by his disillusionment and that his view of the world could summarise life as a bad piece of "theatre" on the part of the human will? Such pessimism is inevitable in the mind of a frustrated man of any susceptibility in an age when ideals are smothered by antiquated survivals of an age which should be dead. One can compare Schopenhauer with Thoreau and Emerson or with the Byron of *Don Juan*—hence, of course, his tremendous influence in France in the second half of the nineteenth century, at a time when the younger French thinkers found themselves, first blanketed politically and ideologically by the Second Empire, and then (after 1870), representatives of a nation defeated in war. The influence of Schopenhauer is very marked from Leconte de Lisle to Zola and down to the present day.

Towards the end of the century French thought underwent a new Germanic influence, that of Nietzsche. The thought of Friedrich

Nietzsche is one further example of the way in which the German mind was forced to be academic for want of a more active outlet—nineteenth-century Germany had no ministerial poets and thinkers like Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Guizot, Thiers, Berthelot, and Victor Duruy. Repressed for creative activity, the German was forced to sublimate his energetic restlessness in the form of all-embracing doctrines. Nietzsche gave a masterly analysis of the spiritual deficiencies in the materialistic civilization of the end of the nineteenth century.

In the nineteenth century, belief in science came first and foremost with most thinking people. Wherever it did not, there flourished a very much attenuated ethical Christianity which replaced Belief by Good Works and also Inspiration by Piety: it was the typical religion of those who are normally termed the smug. Nietzsche's philosophical, but above all energetic, mind rebelled against the often badly formulated materialism of the positivists, as well as against the sickly ideas of the smug, neither being really capable of answering the obvious question—why this "progress" which everybody was talking about was so long delayed. Nietzsche's own answer was based on a study of the classical drama in its intimate relation to the society of its time; philosophising from such a narrow basis he showed how a real spirit of inspiration (such as the Greeks had had) was lacking in our civilization because of the way modern society, speaking through the mouths of the positivists and the pious, had lost that sense of Community and of Faith represented by Hellenic civilization. Nietzsche's works were incisive and always brilliantly written; they made a great impression on a generation which in France, as well as in Germany, was suffering, though for different reasons, from the long-delayed appearance of the positivistic heaven of science.

The promise of the Great Exhibition of 1851 was so long in being fulfilled that the people were ready to believe we should try a new form of civilization based on superior types of man. It is curious to see how French and Germans draw together in this. The history of the two countries shows that the reasons cannot have been the same in both cases, and they were not. The German was wearied of a century of scientific progress which had culminated only in political stagnation, in Bismarck, and in a garish industrialism, with its attendant phenomena of a brutalised proletarian mass and a crust of vulgar capitalists. The Frenchman was wearied because a century of political and scientific progress had culminated in disheartening phenomena like Boulangism, the Panama scandals, and the Dreyfus affaire. In each case the root cause was not dissimilar, but the German was crying because his hands remained empty and the Frenchman because he could not always manage everything he held in his hands—hence the French overcame the Nietzsche cult; but the Germans have only just been forced out of it!

Cultural exchange between France and Germany in the nineteenth century was wider than this, of course, in the influence of particular individuals and particular schools. The influence of France over Germany is most marked towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the French literature and philosophy of the pre-Revolutionary period prepared the way for the German "Aufklärung"—in philosophy Leibniz built on Descartes, in poetry and the drama everyone imitated Voltaire, Diderot, and Mercier, whilst the young eagerly drank in the gospel of freedom according to Rousseau. And in the exciting and tumultuous era of Frederick the Great there were German literary movements which in their turn considerably influenced the literature of Revolutionary France.

At the time of the Revolution, theatre audience and reading public in France were very much influenced by the sentimental and sententious rebelliousness of the German "Storm and Stress" movement. It is, for example, of more than passing interest to learn that a M. Gillès was given honorary citizenship by the Convention for his play *Les Brigands*. M. Gillès, who by this time—post-Terror—had abjured his early enthusiasms and no longer supported the Revolution, was really Friedrich Schiller, whose *Die Räuber* is perhaps the best, as it is one of the most characteristic, productions of the "Storm and Stress" movement.

Basing themselves, for their part, to a considerable extent on Rousseau, the poets of "Storm and Stress" were full of the baleful influence of Society on the natural goodness of Man. Their plays fully expressed the youthful enthusiasm of the Revolutionary audiences—hence the citizenship conferred on M. Gillès.

Why then did the "Storm and Stress" not have more *political* influence in Germany itself? Partly because the excesses of the Terror alienated the German middle class who, though politically repressed, had a natural and wholesome fear for their skins. Partly because, as so often in her history, Germany's political development was hindered by her size and the lack of a cultural and political focussing point. And, for a very large part, because the Girondins, forcing France into war against Prussia and Austria and aiming to seize the Left bank of the Rhine, submerged much political feeling which might have been dangerous for *German* rulers beneath a wave of hatred of *France* and the *French*—a hatred which became frenzy after Jena and up to Waterloo.

Perhaps the most significant influence of the Revolution on Germany was this stirring up of the German national spirit. For one product of the new wave of German self-consciousness was the discovery of the Germanic past by the so-called Romantic school. The Middle Ages, for Herder and Goethe, who really "discovered" them again, were linked in the minds of these and their contemporaries

with Shakespeare and Ossian and with an extension of the field of the picturesque in literature generally.

For the brothers Schlegel, as for Tieck and Wackenroder, the picturesque narrowed down to the *German* Middle Ages, a movement which culminated in Arnim and Brentano's great collections of German folk-poetry and in the *Household Tales* (all Germanic folk-stories) of the brothers Grimm. Hence, only a generation after the *Räuber*, we see the vogue of the harmless and whimsical Jean-Paul Richter, whose reputation was once European, and the fantastic and childish "Puss in Boots" of Ludwig Tieck. We are in the midst of the Romantic movement.

On the literary side, German courage was fired by the lyricists of the War of Liberation (the 1813 campaign) and by Heinrich von Kleist's *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, which is one of the greatest plays in the German repertoire but is nonetheless intensely and Teutonically nationalistic in spirit—it tells the story of the internal struggles of a young Hohenzollern prince who, having won a battle by disobeying orders, is brought to realise that he *must* be punished for his disobedience! The German Romantic movement also produced a flood of sentimental and highly individualistic lyric poetry which was widely imitated, but which petered out with fairy-stories and stories of the weird. (In this last genre, we find especially E. T. A. Hoffmann. His stories of the weird had world-wide influence by becoming a model wherever writers had wearied of real life and wanted a world of the imagination. Poe and, to some extent, Baudelaire, who translated Poe, came in his wake.)

On the side of theory the flux of Romantic thought was moulded by the neo-Mediaevalist poeticism of the nationalists (works like *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* helped to revive the epic spirit), by the casuistic political nationalism and mysticism of Görres (one of Metternich's propagandists) and of the poet Novalis (whose "Christenheit oder Europa" was an early forerunner of the most modern ultramontane and corporative theories), and by the mystical economic nationalism of the powerful Friedrich List, whose theories were not without their influence on the later Saint-Simonians in France. Their emphasis on the historical evolution of the idea of German nationalism was largely responsible also for the development of Hegel's historical method.

Through Mme de Staël, German poetry and social manners had become known and taken root in France even before the end of the eighteenth century; Goethe's *Werther*, an artistically satisfying "Storm and Stress" work, was as powerful in its effect on the French as it had been on the German Romantic youth. *René* and *Adolphe* were blood-brothers of *Werther*; so too, the heavy Mediaeval trappings of *Hernani* and *Ruy Blas* bear considerable likeness to the gloomy historical romanticism of Schiller's *Wallenstein*, which Ben-

jamin Constant translated in 1809, and of Goethe's *Faust*, which Gérard de Nerval rendered in 1828. Victor Cousin was inspired by Hegel and even travelled to Germany to interview the philosopher. Edgar Quinet, for his part, not knowing German, went so far as to translate Herder from an English version.

The spread of this mood of heavy Mediaevalism, philosophical idealism, and historical nationalism would naturally be as popular in the France of the Empire and the Restoration as it was in the Germany of the Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna. In both cases we find a generation of youthful intellectuals inspired to martial vigour but with their political idealism rudely suppressed by political tyranny.

However, we must differentiate. The Royalist aristocrat Chateaubriand grieves for something his people have only *just* lost; the son of General Hugo has only *just* lost his Imperial background; the soldier Vigny has only *just* lost his Grande Armée. And as soon as France begins to recover her political vigour, we have an 1830 and an 1848—Balzac and Stendhal create what is almost a new type of prose, affirming the splendid vitality of the actors in the "Comédie humaine" or the conflict between "Black" and "Red" despite their pathetic shortcomings and fates; Dumas shows the vitality of the court of Henri III; Hugo paints glowing pictures of teeming life in Mediaeval Paris and George Sand takes up the theme of a Christian Socialism. That mincing preciosity which is the traditional mark of Romanticism, that languid rejection of Life, is quickly replaced in France by aspirations towards new and realisable goals.

In Germany there is no such happy picture. Romanticism continues to deny the external world and to concentrate on knights, fairies, and ghosts. The early work of Heinrich Heine is an almost continuous polemic against a false and sickly Romanticism on the one hand, and on the other, against what has come to be called "Deutschtümelei." Deutschtümelei is the exaggerated expression of that reassertion of the Germanic spirit which inspired the German struggle against Napoleon. But after 1815 it went sour. To revert to the *status quo ante* Napoleon, Prince Metternich was forced to impose the severest penalties on liberal thinking in Germany. This led to oppressive persecution, for, under a political tyranny, almost all thinking is dangerous. Hence the forward-looking forms of the German nationalist movement were discouraged, and only the sabre-rattling and ornamental phases allowed: the Burschenschaften or student societies degenerated quickly from political societies aiming at a liberal Germany into mere beer-drinking associations for the singing of patriotic songs—which they remained until Hitler dissolved them.

The influence of France on Germany is practically non-existent between the time when Rousseau inspired the "Storm and Stress"

and Voltaire the "Enlightenment," and the time when the Naturalists began to influence the German theatre and novel, especially at the end of the century. The solitary exception very much proves the rule: immediately after the 1830 period the Saint-Simonians (the French Utopian socialists and humanitarians) had a considerable following amongst advanced German middle- and upper-class thinkers. Particularly were the salons of the Berlin bourgeoisie affected by trends coming from France; but the Metternich persecution was too thorough—all the leading Saint-Simonians, Heine, Börne, Gutzkow, and Mundt, were proscribed, and Börne and Heine forced to leave the country and settle in France. The influence of French thought on that eccentric genius Heine is notable and shows, too, how much German culture of the nineteenth century suffered from its failure to undergo the French literary influence. Heine was a great writer of lyric poetry and a prose writer of no less distinction. His poetry of the North Sea is grandiose and highly descriptive (vagueness is a common German literary fault), while his lyricism, always tinged with paradox and irony, never degenerates into the tinkling prettiness of so much German lyric poetry. In his prose the influence of his French culture appears in a most un-German flexibility of style and lightness of touch. The strain of enlightened humanitarianism, which is responsible for his *Atta Troll* and *Deutschland—ein Wintermärchen*, was almost wholly the outcome of his intercourse with the Saint-Simonian circles which formed the first rallying-point for German political refugees in France.

(In the same way the political ideas of Karl Marx were brought to full fruition by the persecution which forced him to leave the almost purely idealistic circle of Hegelian theoreticians in which he had been brought up, and to move in the more realistic atmosphere of French politics. Personal contact with the Saint-Simonians, with Blanqui and with Prudhon, was most beneficial to him.)

At the same time the wave of exiles from Germany, to which group both Heine and Marx belonged, trained, as all Germans were, in thorough philosophical schools, was beneficial to the French in that it made more systematic what had been in the earlier part of the century an eclectic philosophical apparatus. The approach used by Hippolyte Taine owes much to the influence of the Left Hegelians, while the Biblical researches which began the career of Ernest Renan are founded on that of the Hegelian theologian, D. F. Strauss. Taine and Renan were the ultimate influence on French thought from the middle of the century up to the time when Nietzscheanism spread over France.

The defeat of the 1848 spirit was not followed by so black a reaction in France as in Germany. True, Hugo and Quinet, to name only the most outstanding thinkers, were exiled; but Louis Napoleon's censorship did not need to be so rigid as Metternich's, nor was censor-

ship so thoroughly enforceable amongst the individualistic French as amongst the Germans. Moreover, the very pessimism of the age was responsible for its finest artistic flowering. The aesthetic doctrines of the Saint-Simonians and of the positivists were utilitarian—even the former Romantic, Sainte-Beuve, joined them in 1848 by assigning, *il le quoque*, a social role to the poet and writer: the emergence of a new Caesarism, after so much promise, damped such enthusiasms, which then gave way to the doctrine of "l'Art pour l'Art." Leconte de Lisle was an embittered 1848 revolutionary; both he and his master, Louis Ménard, had actually started out to create new beauty and new forms of worship by restoring accurately the religions of the Orient in opposition to Christianity. The change of viewpoint from Saint-Simonism to disillusion only caused de Lisle to emphasise the originally chosen *subject-matter* rather than its philosophical treatment: whereas the original subjects of his poems had been chosen to express a positivist attitude, they were now refined in such a way as to express *no* attitude at all—or if, through the artistry of their form, an attitude could be discerned, it was intended to be the fashionable pessimistic pose of the Schopenhauer *épigoni*.

A similar attitude is apparent in Baudelaire and in Villiers de l'Isle Adam, the precursors of the fin-de-siècle schools of literature. A somewhat different attitude, however, is evident in Émile Zola, for Zola, though outwardly completely dominated by the positivistic materialism of Taine, was at heart a poet, a Romantic (in the Shakespearean rather than the Tieckian sense). The essential optimism of nineteenth-century France breaks through the grim chain which, according to the plan, was to bind together the 20 volumes of the "Rougon-Macquart" series. This optimism finds an almost ecstatic expression in his last novels, with their revealing titles of *Travail*, *Vérité*, and *Fécondité*.

But very soon a new burst of Teutonic influence swept over France. It came from two somewhat similar sources which, however, tended to merge in the minds of those who underwent them. The two influences were Wagner and Nietzsche.

It was in music, of course, that the German artistic conscience found its aptest expression. Departing from the formalistic traditions of Bach, Haydn, and Mozart, with their social music and contrapuntal clearness, the Romantics—Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms—tended more and more to take a "programme" view of music, harmonic beauty emphasizing individual feeling. Music was to express in its infinitely plastic tones those emotions which in art could be expressed only in poetry, in poetry only by lyric poetry, and which, as often as not, in lyric poetry resulted in sentimental nonsense inadequate to the fine feelings involved. That this should become the ultimate end of Romantic music was obviously also pos-

sible, and it required only a musician who was at the same time a Romantic writer to formulate the theory. This man was found in Richard Wagner, another disgruntled 1848 revolutionary turned pessimist-philosopher, who drifted into a very second-rate literary school—the late nineteenth-century Munich Romantics. Here the tradition of Romantic high adventure in the German mythological past joined hands with *Deutschtümelei* to produce the “Ring der Nibelungen.” It remained only to fit music to this secondhand epic and to create a theory according to which *this* music, composed, like all opera, on a variety of *motifs*, contained in these motifs themselves a store of *symbolical* philosophical wisdom.

This theory was acceptable to the semi-cultured Germans of the early Wilhelmine era, especially when the music was staged with the air of a Germanic rite in a symbolical setting, as it was at Bayreuth—and performed by a sufficiently grandiose orchestra in sufficiently impressive surroundings, as it came to be in the newly founded metropolitan opera-houses.

The movement gained strength in France, where the establishment of the Third Republic was soon followed by disillusionment requiring opiates. Acquiescence in the pompous symbolism of Wagnerianism became a mania in France: Baudelaire was as devoted a Wagnerian as Wagner was a devoted admirer of Schopenhauer. The Wagner cult gave strength to the movement towards Symbolism, that movement in which the innate genius of the French spirit—clearness, form, and the ability to express oneself—almost foundered. The Parnassians, the school of “l’Art pour l’Art,” sapped the French genius by denying it the right to express ideas; the Symbolists—Verlaine, Rimbaud, and Mallarmé, but more especially their followers—tried to finish the murder by denying the genius of the language the right to meaning and even the right to syntax.

At this time, however, a new type of creative literature is noticeable in Germany—a school very much influenced by French Naturalism of the Zola-Goncourt variety and free from “Gothic” and fairy nonsense and Nietzschean heaven-storming. The French Naturalist novel and theatre had a tremendous influence on the Germany of the 80’s and 90’s, where at long last the middle-class intellectual was beginning to feel he had weight. The earliest dramas of the German Naturalist school were most encouraging in so far as they showed an optimistic rebelliousness rather than the hitherto prevailing pessimistic dissection of life. Gerhart Hauptmann, Hermann Sudermann, and Arthur Schnitzler rapidly attained European fame (and helped, by the way, to sweep the Maeterlincks, the Rostands, and the Symbolist “oracles” from the French stage). In the novel the Naturalist school influenced strongly the early Thomas Mann—his *Buddenbrooks* is a miniature Rougon-Macquart; similar influences are to

be seen on Heinrich Mann, Hermann Hesse, and Sudermann (as novelist). In poetry, the French Symbolists influenced Stefan George and his school but failed to leave a lasting mark—the influence of Naturalism (via Rodin) is the most potent in the development of the far greater Rainer Maria Rilke.

Germany and France at the beginning of the twentieth century could cross-fertilise one another with much mutual profit. The German middle class had a long way to go to reach the position of its French brothers, but it was rapidly gaining confidence—a feeling which was, of course, in fact (as we now see) exploited by the military leaders for their own ends. But confidence is the very stuff on which art thrives. Ever since Ulrich von Hutten at the time of the Reformation cried, "Es ist eine Lust zu leben," the Western European artist has functioned most freely in an atmosphere of optimism. Pessimism may produce an occasional Leconte de Lisle or a Dostoyevsky; but, if we look back on the period covered, we may conclude that the chief article of exchange between Germany and France was consolation between artists for periods of pessimism. As the French recovered in practice more quickly and more often, their *joie de vivre* became responsible for a much finer literature. Germany from Napoleon onwards shows only the triumph of the militarist aided by the industrial baron: not until the movement of protest against this becomes loud; not until, in other words, an alternative can be offered, a more optimistic prospect seen, does a truly creative force begin to exert itself again strongly. But in both countries the movements, as I have tried to show, are started off by influences from without. Autarchy in literature is not only a bad slogan—it is also a nonsense, for the influences slip by any net. And the fact that no Metternich could prevent a Heine should make us profoundly grateful for the constant literary contact between France and Germany which made possible such phenomena.

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CONTRIBUTION A L'ÉTUDE DES SOURCES GRECQUES DE PHÈDRE

By GEORGES MAY

Le roman grec d'Héliodore jouissait d'une telle popularité en France au début du XVII^{ème} siècle que le "petit Racine," comme nous l'apprend son fils,¹ avait trouvé un exemplaire de ce roman d'amour et d'aventures dans l'austère demeure des solitaires de Port-Royal.

Racine fut pris d'un tel engouement pour ce roman qu'il voulut d'abord en faire une tragédie,² projet qu'il abandonna bientôt.

En se fondant sur ces deux faits précis, rapportés par Louis Racine, les critiques ont essayé de retrouver dans tout le théâtre de Racine l'influence du romancier grec, et l'ont souvent fortement exagérée.³ Notre objet est d'essayer de mesurer l'étendue exacte de l'influence d'Héliodore sur l'une des tragédies de Racine qui en a été le plus souvent soupçonnée : *Phèdre*. Il s'agira, en même temps, de discuter la possibilité de l'influence sur cette tragédie d'autres sources grecques et de circonscrire le rôle de ces sources avec le maximum de précision.

Les éditions dans lesquelles Racine a pu lire Héliodore ne nous sont pas parvenues. Mais, à propos de ses *Remarques sur l'Odyssée*, qui datent de 1662, P. Mesnard note ce qui suit :

En tête de la première page du manuscrit, on lit cette note de Louis Racine : 'On voit que mon père, dans sa jeunesse, étoit tout plein d'Héliodore, qu'il cite souvent.' Plusieurs passages d'Homère, en effet, le lui rappellent si à propos qu'on en croit plus volontiers la tradition qui veut qu'il l'ait su par cœur.⁴

En effet, à quatre reprises dans cet ouvrage, Racine renvoie au texte d'Héliodore à propos de traits de mœurs rapportés par Homère.⁵ Ces quatre renvois se réfèrent aux quatre passages suivants : II, vi ; III, vii ; III, viii ; et III, viii. À l'exception du premier, ces trois passages font partie d'un seul et même récit : c'est le long récit qu'Héliodore place dans la bouche de Calasiris de la première rencontre des deux amants et du début de leurs amours. Parmi les

¹ Louis Racine, *Mémoires*, dans *Œuvres de Jean Racine*, éd. Paul Mesnard, 8 vols. (Paris, 1865-1873), I, 220. Nous désignerons désormais cette édition par les mots : Mesnard, *op. cit.*

² *Ibid.*, I, 228.

³ Cf. Aloys Tüchert, *Racine und Heliodor*, Programm der Kgl. Studienanstalt Zweibrücken (1889) ; Michael Oeftering, *Heliodor und seine Bedeutung für die Litteratur* (Berlin, 1901) ; et Maurice Lange, "Racine et le roman d'Héliodore," *RHLLF*, XXIII (1916), 145-62.

⁴ Mesnard, *op. cit.*, VI, 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 61-62, 66, 82, et 89.

nombreux rapprochements qui ont été proposés, celui qu'A. Tüchert⁶ propose comme source aux vers 1297-1306 de *Phèdre* nous paraît particulièrement probable. Le passage d'Héliodore en question fait partie du même récit de Calasiris (IV, x) et non pas de l'épisode de Démaenété que l'on a plusieurs fois rapproché de *Phèdre*⁷ et qui figure au livre 1^{er} des *Éthiopes*. Au reste, le début de ce récit de Calasiris est une des parties les plus attachantes du roman; il est d'un charme et d'une fraîcheur qu'atténue à peine le désir d'illustrer la doctrine platonicienne de l'amour. Mais il y a mieux. Il existe, également au début de ce récit, un autre passage dont Racine paraît s'être nettement souvenu en écrivant *Phèdre*, bien que le rapprochement, à notre connaissance, n'ait pas encore été fait. Il s'agit de la première rencontre, dans le temple, de Théagène et Chariclée, scène qui a servi de sujet à un tableau de Raphaël.⁸ Ils se dévisagent, dissimulent un sourire, "puis, comme honteux de ce qui était arrivé, ils rougirent, et ensuite, l'émotion les parcourant jusqu'au cœur, ils pâlirent."⁹ Racine avait très probablement la phrase grecque présente à la mémoire quand il mit dans la bouche de Phèdre le fameux vers: "Je le vis, je rougis, je pâlis à sa vue."¹⁰ Malgré la concision frappante des termes, Racine conserve l'idée d'Héliodore et l'ordre des phénomènes. Héliodore, plus explicite, rend fort bien compte de ces changements d'apparence. Il convient, du reste, de remarquer que ces explications psycho-physiologiques abondent dans son œuvre,¹¹ de même que, dans l'œuvre de Racine, les personnages tragiques commencent, si l'on peut dire, à "avoir un corps." Roxane et Phèdre au premier chef. Diverses opinions ont été exprimées au sujet de l'expression physiologique des passions dans le théâtre de Racine, on y a vu les influences de divers auteurs,¹² et même celle des maîtresses du poète,¹³ mais l'influence d'Héliodore a été injustement négligée. Par exemple, à propos de cette même émotion causée par la vue de la

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

⁷ Cf. Émile Deschanel, *Romantisme des Classiques: Racine*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891), II, 121, 325-28; A. Tüchert, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40; M. Lange, *loc. cit.*, p. 146; Préface de J. Maillon à Héliodore, *Éthiopes*, Collection des Universités de France, 2 vols. (Paris, 1935-1938), I, ci.

⁸ Cf. Oeftering, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-68.

⁹ *Éthiopes*, lib. III, cap. v.

¹⁰ *Phèdre*, I, iii, 273. H. Chabot, dans son édition de *Phèdre*, Classiques Larousse, p. 26, n. 3, suggère pour ce vers un rapprochement avec Théocrite, *Magiciennes*, v. 83-84, qui nous paraît moins satisfaisant que le nôtre. A. Rousseaux, "La Vie Littéraire," *Revue Universelle*, LXXVII (1939), 366-69, rappelle que Voltaire rapprocha ce vers d'un vers de Virgile et propose de le rapprocher d'un vers de Sapho, suggestions qu'E. Gilson réfute dans "Sapho a-t-elle lu Descartes?" *Nouvelles Littéraires*, 27 mai 1939.

¹¹ *Éthiopes*, lib. III, cap. vii et xix; lib. VII, cap. ix, etc.

¹² Cf. E. Gilson, "Le *Traité des Passions* de Descartes inspira-t-il la *Phèdre* de Racine?" *Nouvelles Littéraires*, 15 avril 1939; A. Rousseaux, *loc. cit.*; E. Gilson, *loc. cit.*, n. 10; et J. C. Lapp, "The *Traité des Passions* and Racine," *MLQ*, III (1942), 611-19.

¹³ H. C. Lancaster, *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, 9 vols. (Baltimore, 1929-1942), IV, 102, n. 7.

personne aimée, Racine fait dire à Phèdre: "Le voici, tout mon sang vers mon cœur se retire."¹⁴ Il explique, cette fois, le phénomène physiologique interne sans en exprimer la manifestation extérieure qui est évidemment la pâleur. Du même coup, ce vers rappelle la métaphore d'Héliodore que nous avons traduite par: "L'émotion les parcourant jusqu'au cœur, ils pâlirent."

Si donc le texte d'Héliodore permet quelques rapprochements d'expression avec le texte de *Phèdre*, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que c'est l'intrigue même de *Phèdre* qui a été le plus souvent rapprochée de l'intrigue de l'épisode de Démaenété.¹⁵ Une chose est hors de doute, c'est qu'Héliodore s'inspire, en écrivant cet épisode, de la légende d'Hippolyte. Dans les deux cas, il s'agit d'une belle-mère rendue folle par l'insensibilité de son beau-fils; qui le calomnie auprès de son père et attire sur lui sa vengeance. Démaenété salue son beau-fils Cnémon par cette apostrophe: "O mon jeune Hippolyte! O mon Thésée!"¹⁶ Il y a même auprès de Démaenété une Thisbé qui joue un rôle très semblable à celui que la nourrice joue auprès de Phèdre dans la tragédie d'Euripide, ou dans celle de Sénèque. Racine et Héliodore peuvent donc fort bien se rencontrer à la source commune qui est *Hippolyte couronné* d'Euripide ou *Phèdre* de Sénèque.¹⁷ En notes à sa traduction des *Éthiopes*,¹⁸ M. Maillon fait les remarques suivantes qui nous semblent parfaitement nuancées, celle-ci à propos de l'épisode de Démaenété:

Le rôle de Thisbé auprès de Démaenété n'est pas sans quelque analogie avec celui que joue Cénone auprès de Phèdre. Racine s'est souvenu de cette scène, tout en imitant de beaucoup plus près Euripide et Sénèque, eux-mêmes inspirateurs d'Héliodore.¹⁹

et la suivante à propos de l'épisode d'Arsacé qui se trouve aux livres VII et VIII des *Éthiopes*:

Il n'est pas douteux que le romancier, en créant le personnage d'Arsacé et celui de la nourrice, se soit souvenu de l'*Hippolyte* d'Euripide, auteur qui manifestement lui était familier. Mais il a sensiblement modifié les données du drame. Si Théagène rappelle Hippolyte, il n'a pas comme ce dernier un farouche dédain pour l'amour. La nourrice d'Arsacé est plus cynique et plus familière que celle de Phèdre. Cette dernière offre beaucoup plus de résistance au mal et aux séductions de l'amour que l'héroïne d'Héliodore. Enfin, et ce point est capital, le romancier apporte un élément nouveau: la jalousie; élément que retiendra Racine pour sa tragédie de *Phèdre* en y introduisant Aricie.²⁰

¹⁴ *Phèdre*, II, v, 581.

¹⁵ Cf. n. 7.

¹⁶ *Éthiopes*, lib. I, cap. x.

¹⁷ A. Tüchert, *op. cit.*, p. 40, essaye de démontrer que l'épisode de Démaenété est imité de Sénèque plutôt que d'Euripide.

¹⁸ Cf. n. 7.

¹⁹ J. Maillon, *op. cit.*, I, 23, n. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 131, n. 1.

De ce qui précède, il ressort que la dette de Racine envers Héliodore, en ce qui concerne l'intrigue de *Phèdre*, n'est nullement prouvée et que le seul point sur lequel elle serait probable se trouverait, non pas dans l'épisode de Démaenété, mais bien dans celui d'Arsacé qui, comme l'explique M. Lange,²¹ avait déjà été mis à contribution pour *Bajazet*. Le reste de l'épisode a été emprunté par Héliodore et par Racine à Euripide et à Sénèque; le seul avantage d'Héliodore est qu'il a vraisemblablement connu l'*Hippolyte voilé* d'Euripide, perdu pour nous, dans lequel, autant qu'on puisse le savoir, Phèdre avait un rôle beaucoup plus important que dans la tragédie qui nous est conservée, et témoignait d'une hardiesse allant jusqu'à faire scandale, ce qui pourrait expliquer les caractères d'Arsacé et de Démaenété.

Un raisonnement analogue peut, à notre avis, s'appliquer avantagusement à divers rapprochements qui ont été faits entre certains épisodes du roman d'Héliodore et certaines situations des tragédies de Racine. Non seulement Héliodore était très familier avec la littérature grecque, mais son roman n'est souvent qu'une parodie, sinon un pastiche, d'Homère ou d'Euripide ou de quelques autres poètes grecs. Le plan des *Éthiopes* est intentionnellement bâti sur le modèle du plan de l'*Odyssée*²² et voici l'opinion d'un helléniste sur l'"invention" d'Héliodore :

Héliodore ne s'est guère mis en frais d'imagination : la plupart de ses épisodes lui sont fournis par l'épopée et la tragédie. Il a beau changer les noms, rajeunir les portraits, multiplier les détails, répandre sur toutes les peintures sa couleur un peu molle et terne; on n'en retrouve pas moins dans l'épisode de Cnémon et de Déménété l'histoire de Phèdre et d'Hippolyte, dans les figures de Pétosiris et de Thyamis celles d'Étéocle et de Polynice, dans la situation d'Hydaspe en face de Chariclée celle d'Agamemnon prêt à immoler Iphigénie.²³

Notons que ces trois légendes grecques sont les sujets de trois des tragédies "grecques" de Racine, qui, dès lors, a fort bien pu remonter directement à Eschyle, Sophocle, et Euripide sans l'intermédiaire d'Héliodore. A. Tüchert reconnaît cette possibilité à propos de *La Thébaine* dont il rapproche certains vers à la fois d'Héliodore et d'Euripide,²⁴ mais il en est de même du rapprochement de *Phèdre* avec l'épisode de Démaenété et d'*Iphigénie* avec celui d'Hydaspe, malgré la suggestion contraire d'Émile Deschanel.²⁵ Chose curieuse, en partant des mêmes constatations, M. Lange aboutit à des conclusions opposées.²⁶ Il retient essentiellement, à cet effet, les trois rapprochements qui précèdent, auxquels il ajoute celui de Chariclée,

²¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 160-62.

²² Cf. Clinton W. Keyes, "Structure of Heliodorus' *Æthiopica*," *Studies in Philology*, XIX (1922), 42-51. Cf. également ouvrage suivant, p. 416.

²³ Alexis Chassang, *Histoire du roman et de ses rapports avec l'histoire dans l'antiquité grecque et latine* (Paris, 1862), p. 417.

²⁴ A. Tüchert, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

²⁵ É. Deschanel, *op. cit.*, II, 7, 121 et 325-28.

²⁶ M. Lange, *loc. cit.*, p. 146.

captive de Trachinos qui l'aime et qui est tué par son rival Péloros,²⁷ épisode suggéré, dit-il, à Héliodore par la légende d'Andromaque.²⁸ Or, Racine, qui a bel et bien traité ces quatre sujets, n'aurait selon M. Lange emprunté à la tragédie grecque que ce qu'Héliodore lui-même lui avait déjà emprunté. En d'autres termes, sans vouloir aller jusqu'à dire que Racine n'a connu la tragédie grecque qu'à travers Héliodore, M. Lange suggère fort nettement qu'il ne s'en souvint qu'à travers lui, et il écrit: "Mais que penser, si les sujets que Racine leur [Eschyle, Sophocle, et Euripide] empruntera seront précisément—et exclusivement—ceux dont s'est inspiré Héliodore?"²⁹ Cette hypothèse est difficilement soutenable, puisque, à part l'objection formulée à propos de la légende d'Andromaque, Racine avait projeté d'écrire une *Alceste* et une *Iphigénie en Tauride* qui venaient tout droit d'Euripide. En effet, si l'on peut admettre que l'idée d'*Alceste* ait pu lui être suggérée par l'opéra qu'en avait fait Quinault en 1674,³⁰ le sujet d'*Iphigénie en Tauride* n'avait, en revanche, été abordé, à notre connaissance, par personne avant Racine, ce qui lui laisse le privilège de l'avoir tiré entièrement de sa culture hellénique. Racine n'avait pas besoin des imitations du romancier grec pour connaître les tragédies antiques, et le raisonnement qui tend à prouver que, dans ses pièces "grecques," il s'est souvenu de ces imitations plutôt que des originaux, nous paraît aussi suspect que celui qui consisterait à prétendre que les poètes "épiques" du XVII^e siècle, par exemple, imitaient *La Franciade*, alors qu'ils pouvaient remonter à Homère et Virgile tout comme l'avait fait Ronsard.

Au reste, en ce qui concerne *Phèdre* et la légende d'Hippolyte, la fréquence même de ce genre d'aventures dans la littérature grecque empêche de rien affirmer. Un peu plus loin dans *Les Éthiopiennes*, nous pouvons lire un épisode très semblable;³¹ d'autre part, la légende d'Hippolyte présente un certain nombre de ressemblances frappantes avec celle de Bellérophon, et de divers autres héros. Comme le dit M. Séchan, "le thème de la femme coupable accusant celui qu'elle a voulu séduire de son propre crime était fort répandu dans le monde antique."³² Cependant, dans son ouvrage sur Quinault, M. Gros insiste longuement³³ sur le *Bellérophon* que son auteur fit jouer en 1671

²⁷ *Éthiopiennes*, lib. V, cap. xxvii-xxxiii.

²⁸ Si l'épisode d'Héliodore présente quelques rapports avec l'*Andromaque* de Racine, il n'en présente guère avec celle d'Euripide. Au sujet du rapport entre ces deux tragédies, cf. A. Lytton Sells, "From Euripides to Racine: Two Incarnations of Andromaque," *Comparative Literature Studies* (1942), V-VII.

²⁹ M. Lange, *loc. cit.*, p. 146.

³⁰ Cf. R. C. Knight, "The Evolution of Racine's 'Poétique,'" *MLR*, XXXV (1940), 33-36.

³¹ *Éthiopiennes*, lib. VII, cap. ii.

³² Louis Séchan, "La Légende d'Hippolyte dans l'antiquité," *Revue des Études Grecques*, XXIV (1911), 129. Sur la légende d'Hippolyte, cf. également, Winifred Newton, *Le Thème de Phèdre et d'Hippolyte dans la littérature française* (Paris, 1939).

³³ Étienne Gros, *Philippe Quinault, sa vie & son œuvre* (Paris, 1926), pp. 328-36.

et avec lequel la *Phèdre* de Racine présenterait des ressemblances intéressantes. Mais là encore, il convient, pensons-nous, d'employer le type de raisonnement dont nous venons de faire usage. La légende de Bellérophon, qui semble n'être qu'une dérivation plus tardive de celle d'Hippolyte,³⁴ était bien connue dans l'antiquité et Racine n'avait pas besoin que Quinault vint la lui apprendre. M. Gros nous fait savoir³⁵ que Quinault s'était documenté sur ses personnages dans les œuvres d'Apollodore et d'Hygin et n'avait sans doute pas consulté Homère qui présente les faits de façon un peu différente et appelle, en particulier, l'héroïne Antéïa et non pas Sténobée. Mais, au cas où Racine aurait pensé à cette légende en écrivant *Phèdre*, peu importe que cette femme se fût appelée Antéïa ou Sténobée, puisqu'il en aurait fait Phèdre. Voici le passage d'Homère :

La femme de Proetos, la divine Antéïa, eut le désir furieux de s'unir à lui [Bellérophon] en de clandestines relations d'amour ; mais elle ne put en persuader le sage Bellérophon aux pensées pures ; alors elle adressa ces paroles mensongères au roi Proetos : 'Meurs, Proetos, ou tue Bellérophon qui voulait que des relations d'amour l'unissent à moi qui ne le voulais pas.' Elle dit ces mots et la colère s'empara du roi qui les entendit. . . .³⁶

Le dénouement des deux légendes diffère complètement, mais la situation est très analogue. Parmi les notes de Racine en marge du chant VI de l'*Iliade*, aucune ne se rapporte à ce passage ; mais, dans ses *Remarques sur les Olympiques de Pindare*, qui sont datées du 1^{er} mars 1662, Racine écrit à propos de l'ode XIII : "Homère décrit bien au long l'histoire de Bellérophon au [livre] VI de l'*Iliade*."³⁷ Cela prouve que, non seulement Racine connaissait ce passage, ce dont personne n'a jamais douté, mais qu'il en avait été frappé et qu'il le savait vraisemblablement par cœur, tandis que l'on ignore l'intérêt que Racine a pu apporter à la tragédie de Quinault. À notre avis, si le *Bellérophon* de Quinault a exercé une action sur Racine, ce fut seulement de lui avoir rappelé ces quelques vers de l'*Iliade*.

À propos de ce même problème, M. Lancaster fait intervenir l'*Hippolyte* de Bidar (1675) qui ferait, s'il y a lieu, le trait d'union entre Quinault et Racine :

If he [Racine] did [borrow from Quinault], it was probably only in the sense that he borrowed from Bidar what the latter took from Quinault. It is also possible that the three dramatists conceived the motif independently.³⁸

Il reste donc dans le domaine du possible que ces vers d'Homère soient pour quelque chose dans la genèse de *Phèdre*.

Outre ces légendes de Bellérophon et d'Hippolyte, l'histoire de Joseph et de la femme de Putiphar³⁹ appartient au même thème de la femme coupable et calomniatrice. Mais surtout deux odes de Pindare

³⁴ Cf. Louis Séchan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 129-30.

³⁵ É. Gros, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-30.

³⁶ *Iliade*, VI, 160-68.

³⁷ Mesnard, *op. cit.*, VI, 52.

³⁸ H. C. Lancaster, *op. cit.*, IV, 99, n. 1.

³⁹ *Genèse*, 39.

rapportent la légende de Pélée et de la femme d'Acaste, qui, s'il faut en croire M. Séchan,⁴⁰ dérive également de la légende d'Hippolyte. Dans la première de ces deux odes, Pindare écrit simplement : "Au pied du mont Pélion, Pélée attaquant de son bras hostile Iolcos la ville esclave, la livra aux Haimones, après qu'il eut fait l'expérience des ruses artificieuses d'Hippolyte, l'épouse d'Acaste."⁴¹ En marge de ces vers, Racine, dans son édition de Pindare, écrit : "V. [voyez] l'ode suivante, où il est parlé plus au long de l'accusation de cette Hippolyte."⁴² Pindare écrit, en effet, dans l'ode suivante :

Tout d'abord, commençant par Zeus, elles [les Muses] chantèrent la noble Thétis et Pélée; elles chantèrent comment la gracieuse Hippolyte, fille de Crétheus, voulut le faire tomber dans ses filets, après avoir persuadé, grâce à divers artifices, son époux, chef des Magnètes, d'être son complice; et comment elle recourut à des paroles mensongèrement forgées qui disaient que Pélée avait mis à l'épreuve sa fidélité sur la couche d'Acaste. C'est le contraire qui était vrai : elle-même, avec l'appui de nombreuses paroles et de toute son âme, elle l'avait supplié de céder. Mais ces discours scabreux avaient enflammé la colère de Pélée. Il repoussa franchement la jeune femme, craignant la colère de son ancêtre, le dieu de l'hospitalité.⁴³

En marge de ces vers, Racine écrit : "Hippolyte, femme d'Acaste, voulut persuader Pélée de coucher avec elle; et, étant refusée, elle l'accusa auprès de son mari de l'avoir voulu violer."⁴⁴ Cette phrase, écrite par Racine après 1662,⁴⁵ résume non sans énergie l'action de *Phèdre* qu'il écrira en 1677.

Ces divers rapprochements ne sont pas tant destinés à proposer de nouvelles sources à *Phèdre*, qu'à circonscrire, comme nous nous l'étions proposé, le rôle que le roman d'Héliodore pourrait avoir joué dans la genèse de *Phèdre*, de même que nous avons noté quelques rapprochements d'expression entre ces deux textes. Le sujet de *Phèdre* vient avant tout de Sénèque et d'Euripide, mais, si l'on doit faire intervenir d'autres sources possibles, après celles-là, les textes de Pindare et d'Homère que nous avons cités nous paraissent, en raison des notes de la main de Racine, beaucoup plus vraisemblables que l'histoire de Démaenété ou même d'Arsacé au sujet desquelles nous ne savons rien des réactions de Racine. Nous ne pensons pas avoir, en multipliant ces références à des textes anciens, faussé l'idée qu'on peut se faire du génie de Racine. La culture littéraire de Racine était d'une ampleur considérable, sa mémoire excellente; il y a donc peu d'écrivains à propos desquels des recherches de sources ou de réminiscences puissent être plus pertinentes. Au reste, cet art si subtil de l'emprunt et surtout de l'appropriation littéraire s'intègre parfaitement dans l'ensemble de la poétique racinienne.

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⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.*, p. 130.

⁴¹ *Néméennes*, IV, 53-58.

⁴² Mesnard, *op. cit.*, VI, 216.

⁴³ *Néméennes*, V, 26-34.

⁴⁴ Mesnard, *op. cit.*, VI, 217.

⁴⁵ Date établie par Mesnard, *ibid.*, VI, 212.

ON SOME CONTRIBUTORS TO *LE PARNASSE CONTEMPORAIN*

By AARON SCHAFFER

An examination of the lists of contributors to the three *recueils de vers nouveaux* published by Alphonse Lemerre in Paris under the title of *Le Parnasse contemporain* (1866, 1869, 1876) provides some curious answers as to what happens to the talented youth who, after devoting at least part of his leisure to the art of versifying, in the probable conviction that he is to be the Petrarch, the Shelley, or the Hugo of his generation, proceeds either to make his mark in some entirely unrelated field of intellectual endeavor or to sink into complete oblivion. For, among the ninety-nine men and women who signed their names or pen-names to one or more poems in one or more of the three *recueils*, there are twelve who, so far as I have been able to determine, did not publish a single volume of verse. The contributions of these persons may well have been looked upon by them in later years as "péchés de jeunesse"; and one can only conclude that, if the editors of *Le Parnasse contemporain* were over-hospitable to novices and to poetasters, this was due to their desire to encourage and stimulate the composition of lyric poetry in France. That, in the case of many individuals, this stimulation quickly evanesced will become obvious from a glance at the dozen would-be Parnassians to whom I shall here refer.

There is, for example, the case of Eugène Lefébure (1838-1908). Philippe Virey, in a "notice biographique" to a volume of Lefébure's *Œuvres diverses*,¹ tells us that "il aimait tous les bons poètes" and that he made a translation of Thomas Moore's *Some Irish Melodies* which was published in 1879.²

Il fut très lié [continues Virey], avec Henri Cazalis et Stéphane Mallarmé. Du reste, il n'avait pas cessé, depuis le collège, de s'exercer dans la poésie française. Il avait fait paraître quatre ou cinq pièces de vers dans le *Parnasse contemporain* de 1866.—Sans indiquer une véritable vocation poétique, ces essais sont intéressants comme témoignage du goût de Lefébure pour les belles-lettres.

Lefébure's contribution to the first *Parnasse contemporain* comprises six poems: "Le Pingouin," "Le Réveil," "À ma fenêtre," "La Noce des serpents," "Couchant," and "Le Retour de l'ennemi."³ All bear the unmistakable stamp of Baudelaire; "Le Pingouin," for example, is an almost exact replica of "L'Albatros," while, in "Couchant,"

¹ Paris: Leroux, 1910.

² "Brochure imprimée à Lyon, chez Pitrahen," according to Virey.

³ The 1869 *Parnasse contemporain* contains a poem, "Rose malade," signed simply Lefébure, which may well have been his last published piece of original verse.

the poet complains: "Comme un vaisseau dans l'eau je sombre dans l'ennui."⁴ It is much to be doubted that Lefébure's vessel foundered in the sea of boredom; for, bidding the Muse farewell, he embarked on what was to prove a long and honorable academic career. Beginning his teaching as a member of the Faculté des Lettres of Lyon, he later directed an archeological mission in Cairo, and finally became professor at the École supérieure of Algiers. The callow poet of 1866 had developed into a distinguished Egyptologist, author of erudite works with such titles as *Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes* and *Le Mythe osirien*!⁵

Then there is the case of Louis de Boussès de Fourcaud (1851-1914). Born in the south of France and educated at Toulouse, where he received his "licence en droit," he settled in Paris at the age of twenty-two as journalist and later as critic and teacher of art. A voracious reader and a fervent admirer of Hugo, he had tried his hand at the writing of poems and plays while still at school; most of his verse, however, never emerged from the manuscript stage, the only poems of his to be published being the four "Sonnets hiératiques" which he contributed to the 1876 *Parnasse contemporain* over the signature of B. de Fourcaud.⁶ Professor Rocheblave informs us that Fourcaud thought very highly of "ce jongleur éblouissant de la muse française qu'est Théodore de Banville" and quotes him as having said of Banville: "Il a créé une façon de lyre parisienne et boulevardière, dont ses *Odes funambulesques* demeurent l'une des plus typiques émanations."⁷ Be that as it may, the four "Sonnets hiératiques" owe little either to Hugo or to Banville, and may be said to have been composed immediately under the sign of Leconte de Lisle. Their titles—"Naissance de la mort," "Crépuscule indien," "Juda," and "Chin-Noung"—reflect an interest in Oriental civilizations which probably owes much to the *Poèmes antiques* and the *Poèmes barbares*. "Chin-Noung" recalls "La Mort de Valmiki" of the former volume; the "char de Savitri" of "Crépuscule indien" calls to mind the deities whose names stud Leconte de Lisle's Hindu poems; and the opening quatrain of "Naissance de la mort" seems but an echo of many of the lines of the master:

⁴ *Le Parnasse contemporain* (1866), p. 218.

⁵ Paris: Leroux, 1886, and Paris: Vieweg, 2 vols., 1874-75.

⁶ *Vide* the *Bibliographie générale de l'œuvre de Louis de Fourcaud, membre de l'Institut*, prepared by Henri Curzon, "conservateur aux Archives nationales," and published in 1926 (Paris, Les Belles-lettres). This work lists all of Fourcaud's writings chronologically from 1874 to 1914, and includes a posthumous article dated 1915 and two articles printed in *La Nouvelle Revue* in 1922. The four "Sonnets hiératiques" are the only poems mentioned in this bibliography.

⁷ *Vide* S. Rocheblave, *Louis de Fourcaud et le mouvement artistique en France de 1875 à 1914* (Paris: Les Belles-lettres, 1926), p. 347. Rocheblave speaks of a "Nocturne" written by Fourcaud and set to music by César Franck, but this is not listed in the Curzon bibliography.

L'Éternel s'ennuyait dans l'immensité vide;
 Rien n'existait. C'était le règne du Néant.
 Du fond de l'Infini, gouffre morne et béant,
 Un hymne répondit à son désir avide.⁸

The seriousness of the "Sonnetts hiératiques"—a title reminiscent of the two groups of "Sonnetts païens" contributed by Louis Ménard to the 1866 and 1869 *recueils* of *Le Parnasse contemporain*—seems entirely in keeping with the character of the man who was to become one of his country's distinguished art critics and professors of aesthetics. In the former capacity, he was a regular contributor to *La Revue du monde musical et dramatique*, *La Gazette des Beaux-arts*, *La Revue Wagnérienne*, *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, *Le Gaulois*, and *L'Écho de Paris*, and he published, among other works, a volume entitled *Bastien Lepage, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris: Baschet, 1885). On the death of Taine in 1893, Fourcaud succeeded him as "professeur d'esthétique et d'histoire d'art" at the École des Beaux-arts, and in 1900 his lyric five-act tragedy, *Renaud d'Arles*, with music by Noël Desjoyeaux, was performed at Monte Carlo. Thirteen years later and only one year before his death, he stood unsuccessfully for election to the French Academy. Thus ended the career of the hieratic sonneteer of the 1876 *Parnasse contemporain*.

Perhaps the best-known name in the rubric of contributors to *Le Parnasse contemporain* here under consideration is that of Paul de Musset (1804-1880), characterized by the Larousse *Dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle* as an "écrivain élégant, sobre et châtié, assez fin observateur," who was, however, "toujours écrasé par la supériorité de son cadet." It is, of course, only as the apologist for the great poet of "Les Nuits" and "Souvenir," as the author of *Lui et elle* (1860), intended as a counterblast to George Sand's *Elle et lui* (1859), and of a *Biographie d'Alfred de Musset* (1877), that Paul de Musset is still remembered, though his bibliography, which includes two plays and a large number of novels and tales, fills two pages of the Bibliothèque nationale catalogue. I have found no reference anywhere to the elder Musset as a poet, and his lone contribution to the third *Parnasse contemporain*, a sonnet entitled "À Ninon," is so banal a composition as to warrant the conjecture that it was accepted by the editors of the *recueil*—Banville, Coppée, and Anatole France—solely as a belated gesture of amends for the contempt in which the gifted Alfred was held by Leconte de Lisle and his disciples in the Parnassian group. Incidentally, it may be recalled that Alfred de Musset, too, had long before written a poem "À Ninon,"⁹ a charming composition of ten five-line stanzas immeasurably superior to the sonnet by his brother.

⁸ *Le Parnasse contemporain* (1876), pp. 121, 122.

⁹ *Poésies nouvelles, 1836-52* (Paris: Charpentier, n.d.), pp. 113-15, where it is dated 1837.

Like Paul de Musset, Edmond Lepelletier (1846-1913)¹⁰ did not stray too far beyond the domain of pure letters after his first halting steps as a poet. Born in Paris, he studied law and entered the bar, but soon became actively engaged in the practice of journalism and politics. He contributed frequently to periodicals of liberal political tendencies and wrote several novels, among them fictionized versions of Sardou's *Madame Sans-Gêne* and *Patrie!* He is perhaps best known as the author of *Paul Verlaine, sa vie, son œuvre*,¹¹ in which, by virtue of a long chapter on the Parnassians, he takes his place among the historiographers of the movement. A member of the original Parnassian group, he contributed to its first *recueil* two poems, "L'Attelage" and "Léthé," which are thoroughly Leconte-de-Lislean in their Hellenism. These poems also appear, together with two others, "Le Cœur saignant" and "La Machine," in the third volume of the Lemerre *Anthologie des poètes français du XIX^e siècle*.¹² The writer of the biographical and critical sketch of Lepelletier that serves as "notice" to these four poems, one E. Ledrain, speaks of a collection of his verse that was about to be brought out under the title of *Soleils noirs et soleils roses*, and Catulle Mendès, in his *Dictionnaire bibliographique des principaux poètes du XIX^e siècle*,¹³ actually credits him with a volume so entitled, published in 1887. As a matter of fact, Lorenz includes no such title for that year, and I have searched for it diligently but fruitlessly in many other catalogues of libraries and publishers. If such a volume was ever brought out, it could have attracted but little attention, inasmuch as Léon Rictor, in an essay on Lepelletier dated January, 1888, makes no allusion to it whatsoever, though he refers to the "temps déjà lointains du Parnasse contemporain où Lepelletier publia ses premiers vers."¹⁴ On the basis of the four poems in the Lemerre *Anthologie*, Ledrain comments:

Ce qu'il [Lepelletier] a religieusement gardé de sa première ferveur, c'est le souci de la perfection, du mot vif et juste, de la rime neuve et riche, c'est-à-dire, l'horreur de toute banalité. En cela, il est Parnassien jusqu'au fanatisme, et il ne permettrait pas facilement à quelqu'un d'adorer dans une autre chapelle que la sienne.¹⁵

¹⁰ His full name was Edmond-Adolphe de Bouhélier-Lepelletier. He was the father of Saint-Georges de Bouhélier, poet, playwright, and leader of the *naturaliste* school of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries (vide Fort and Mandin, *Histoire de la poésie française depuis 1850* [Toulouse: Privat, 1926], pp. 245-46).

¹¹ Paris: Mercure de France, 1907; vide pp. 130-207.

¹² Paris, 4 vols., 1887-88.

¹³ Published as a sort of appendix to his *Rapport sur le mouvement poétique français de 1867 à 1900* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1903).

¹⁴ *Les Arts et les lettres*, première série (Paris: Lemerre, 1901), p. 426. The essay is devoted almost entirely to the busy journalistic career of Lepelletier, who is styled a "maître journaliste."

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 243; quoted by Mendès, *Dictionnaire*, p. 172.

Twenty years later, in his biography of Verlaine, Lepelletier was still singing the praises of the Parnassian movement, so that, although like Lefébure and Fourcaud he did not long travel the road of poetic composition, yet unlike them, he never abandoned his first companions on that road.

Paralleling the career of Edmond Lepelletier is that of Alcide Dusolier (1836-1918). Both men were *littérateurs*, journalists, and politicians, though the one went farther in literature and the other in politics. Born in the Dordogne, Dusolier attended the *École de Droit* of the University of Paris and earned some notice in the capital by articles written for *Le Figaro*, *L'Artiste*, *Le Nain jaune*, and other periodicals. In the realm of letters, he produced a number of novels, some under the pseudonym of Étienne Maurice, and several critical works, notably *Propos littéraires et pittoresques de Jean de la Martrille* (Paris: Faure, 1867), a volume of personal essays on literary and other subjects. As a poet, he seems to have written only scattered compositions, four of which were collected and published as a brochure under the title of *Les Quatre poésies de Jean de la Martrille* (Nontron: Deschamps, 1868), with the following semi-humorous dedication: "À Son Honneur Sir Barbey laird d'Aureville, ces quelques vers sont dédiés par son serviteur et ami Jean de la Martrille." The four poems—"En Dordogne," "Phanor," "Diane," and "Ma pouliche"—sing of the joys of the outdoor life in the Dordogne countryside (Phanor and Diane are the names of hunting-dogs); the first two, grouped under the caption of "Poèmes d'automne," were reprinted in the 1876 *Parnasse contemporain*. But if Jean de la Martrille was a gentleman and sportsman, Alcide Dusolier was a politician and statesman. Named *sous-préfet* of the *arrondissement* of Nontron, the *chef-lieu* of his native *département*, on the establishment of the Third Republic, he served for a while as secretary to Gambetta and later as Minister of War. Elected to the Chamber of Deputies from Nontron in 1881 and to the Senate from Dordogne in 1885, he proved himself a staunch republican by vigorously opposing the Caesarian ambitions and intrigues of General Boulanger. A far cry this from the ivory tower of Jean de la Martrille's Dordogne "gentilhommière."

Like Lepelletier and Dusolier, Maurice Coste (1850-1931), who employed the nom de plume of Maurice Talmeyr, earned some renown as a journalist. F. Pascal, writing of him in *La Revue hebdomadaire* for May 18, 1901,¹⁰ calls him "un des premiers journalistes de notre temps" and adds: "M. Maurice Talmeyr a employé son talent dans le journalisme à peu près exclusivement." M. Pascal makes mention of the fact that Talmeyr was the author of one play, *Entre mufles*, and of several novels, as well as of volumes of me-

¹⁰ Pp. 410-17.

moirs such as *Souvenirs du journalisme* and *Souvenirs d'avant le déluge, 1870-1914*; his journalistic articles were issued in book form, some of the best of them in a three-volume collection entitled *Sur le banc*. Two of his works—*La Nouvelle légende dorée*, a group of what the author styles "tableaux contemporains" of Catholic life in Paris, and *L'Héroïsme pendant la guerre*—were *couronnés* by the French Academy. M. Pascal closes his article with these words:

M. Maurice Talmeyr excite moins nos enthousiasmes que nos dégoûts.—Son mérite particulier est d'être un des plus puissants excitateurs de nos goûts contre les agents aveugles de notre décadence.

If Talmeyr wrote any poetry, M. Pascal is unaware of the fact; his only venture into this field to come to my notice is his "Lettre posthume" in the third *Parnasse contemporain*. This poem, in which a *grisette* who has just died writes her lover to tell him how much she prefers his love on earth to her loveless state in Heaven, ends with a stanza that leaves the reader in doubt as to whether the girl is really dead or has only been dreaming; but the reader is in no doubt whatsoever as to the mediocrity of the poem.

Paul de Musset, as we have seen, shone in the reflected light of his brother; and each of the other five men discussed above achieved some standing in his chosen profession. There remain six contributors to *Le Parnasse contemporain* whose existence would seem to be totally unknown to students of French literary history. One of these, Jules Forni, is represented in the 1866 *Parnasse contemporain* by no fewer than five poems. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale lists five works on legal subjects by one "Jules Forni, avocat," published between 1871 and 1886. It may be surmised that this lawyer and writer on jurisprudence dabbled in verse as a young man and that, through his acquaintance with one of the members of the Parnassian group, he was invited to contribute to its first *recueil*. The five poems which he submitted—"Souhait," "Avril," "Le Pauvre savant," "Ma chape," and "Le Fossoyeur"—are Baudelairean in theme and spirit and are not devoid of vigorous imagination.

As obscure a figure as Forni, Alexis Martin was placed by the editors of the first *Parnasse contemporain* at the foot of the list of its thirty-seven contributors. In addition to a lone poem in this *recueil*—"À Vénus de Milo: statuette"—Martin also composed at least two other poems, of which offprints are to be found in the Bibliothèque nationale: "L'Enfant mort" and "Tout le bronze à la fonte." The latter is an ode written to be recited at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin on November 21, 1870; it calls upon the people of Paris to pull down the bronze statues of Henri IV, Louis XIV, Napoleon, and all their confreres in tyranny and recast them into artillery with which to repel the Prussians at the very gates of the city; then, when France will have beaten back her enemy, these

statues will be replaced by others honoring champions and heroes of liberty and the Republic. "A Vénus de Milo: statuette" is an elegy lamenting, after the manner and almost in the words of Musset's "Nuit d'octobre," the treachery of a mistress; a product of Romanticism at its worst, the poem is out of place in a Parnassian anthology, even when it is in last place.

The same *Parnasse contemporain* contains two poems by a certain Henry Winter, "L'Auberge" and "Nuit d'hiver," of unmistakably Baudelairean provenience. The provenience of their author is a complete mystery. One of the poems of Louis-Xavier de Ricard's *Ciel, rue et foyer*, "Clair de lune dans Paris" (dated January, 1863), is dedicated to Winter, and the latter contributed the "Critique" rubric to Ricard's *L'Art* for November 23, 1865;¹⁷ from these facts we may guess that Winter was a member of the salon of the Marquise de Ricard, in which the idea for the creation of *Le Parnasse contemporain* may have been conceived, and that, in any case, Winter's presence in the *recueil* is to be attributed to his relationship with Louis-Xavier de Ricard, one of its two co-editors.

The second *Parnasse contemporain* is superior to either of the other two *recueils* in at least one respect, namely, that it is freer than they of names largely unknown to the history of French poetry. Indeed, the single contributor who apparently did not publish at least one volume of verse is Gustave Pradelle, the facts of whose life I have been unable to ascertain. The Bibliothèque nationale catalogue lists a play, *Christophe Colomb* (Paris: Walder, 1867), in seven acts and seventeen scenes, first published anonymously. This play was reprinted by Lemerre in 1869, with a prefatory letter addressed to "la critique" in answer to the severe strictures that the work had called down upon the head of the author. This edition bears Pradelle's name both on the title page and at the end of the letter. Pradelle's contribution to the 1869 *Parnasse contemporain* consists of four sonnets: "L'Écu," "Vir sum," "Espoir," and "L'Image." The first of these is in the strictly pictorial manner, and might have been signed by Heredia; "Vir sum" and "Espoir" resemble Sully Prudhomme's philosophical poems except for the optimism which they breathe, illustrated by such lines as "Et l'homme que je suis est un homme qui croit," or "Car d'un immense espoir mon âme est en tourment,"¹⁸ while "L'Image" is reminiscent of Jaufré Rudel's poems to his "princesse lointaine" in its "amour tout immatérielle" for a medieval queen upon whose portrait the poet has chanced in a missal.¹⁹ These four sonnets are correct in structure and thoughtful

¹⁷ Mentioned by Melva Lind in her bibliography to *Un Parnassien universitaire: Emmanuel des Essarts* (Paris: Les Presses universitaires, 1928), p. 233.

¹⁸ *Le Parnasse contemporain* (1869), pp. 292 and 293.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

in content; but they do not rise above the level of hundreds of other sonnets by poets of the Parnassian epoch.

Two persons remain to be mentioned. One of these, Guy de Binos, was director, in 1874, of a "revue illustrée hebdomadaire" called *Le Musée universel*, which had been founded in the previous year by G. Decaux, and which lasted only two years. During its brief existence, the *Musée* printed poems from the pens of several contributors to *Le Parnasse contemporain*: Coppée, André Lemoyne, Georges Lafenestre, Sully Prudhomme, André Theuriot, and Jean Aicard (as well as one by Hugo), and thus played a role in Parnassian history. Guy de Binos is represented in the third *Parnasse contemporain* by two love sonnets of no particular distinction, "Serment" and "Adieu." Finally, there is Gustave Ringal, who contributed to the same *recueil* four untitled sonnets, two in alexandrines and in the rather severe manner of Baudelaire, two in octosyllabics and in the lighter tone of the seventeenth-century madrigal. The Bibliothèque nationale possesses a single work by this otherwise completely unknown writer, a one-act comedy in prose, *Le Vidame*, which bears the inscription: "Au poète Léon Valade cette comédie est dédiée par son ami, G. R." This dedication serves at least to establish the fact that Ringal was on terms of friendship with one of the most highly esteemed members of the original Parnassian *cénacle* and probably explains his inclusion in its third *recueil*.

As the foregoing pages testify, *Le Parnasse contemporain* functioned as a magnet to young men with poetic aspirations, some of whom were very soon to lose, if they ever possessed it, the *theia mania* of the rhapsode, and were, indeed, to establish themselves in fields, such as Egyptology or the law, only remotely related to literature. This must, of course, be a common phenomenon in the history of periodicals devoted wholly or largely to poetry, one which might be thought of as belonging in the category of what the elder D'Israeli called curiosities of literature. The set of curiosities here presented constitutes a by-product of the Parnassian movement and bears witness to the desire of its leaders to keep alive the flame of lyric poetry in an age of materialistic *scientisme*.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CRITICAL ARTHURIAN LITERATURE FOR THE YEAR 1946

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Arch. Camb.</i>	Archaeologia Cambrensis
<i>Beiträge</i>	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
<i>LTLS</i>	London Times Literary Supplement
<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>MLQ</i>	Modern Language Quarterly
<i>MLR</i>	Modern Language Review
<i>MP</i>	Modern Philology
<i>N&Q</i>	Notes and Queries
<i>Neophil.</i>	Neophilologus
<i>Neuphil. Mit.</i>	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<i>Rev. belge</i>	Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
<i>RR</i>	Romanic Review
<i>St. Med.</i>	Studi medievali
<i>THSC</i>	Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion
<i>ZDA</i>	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum

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REVIEWS

The Shakespeares and "The Old Faith." By J. H. DE GROOT. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. viii + 258. \$3.00.

The central purpose of this study is to establish the authenticity of the Spiritual Last Will and Testament, a Catholic document signed by one "John Shakespear," and found during the eighteenth century in the Henley Street home of the poet's father. "If John Shakespeare was a Catholic, the religious training which William Shakespeare received at home would have been in the spirit of the Old Faith. What that Catholic training would have consisted of, how it might have contributed to the development of the young artist, and how it might have revealed itself in the writings of the mature dramatist, become, therefore, interesting questions for study" (p. 1). All previous arguments to prove John Shakespeare Puritan, Protestant, or Catholic "counterbalance one another to leave the issue in a state of doubt" (p. 2). The Will decides the issue, and to establish its validity de Groot devotes his longest chapter (pp. 64-110). The rest of the book details the Catholic influences in the life and in the plays of son William.

Throughout his study the author carefully repeats that his purpose is not to prove the poet a Catholic. Moreover, he takes full account of the inevitably Protestant influences in the Stratford school, where "William was subjected to a regular alternation of Protestant and Catholic religious influence" (p. 142). Then "by the time Shakespeare had reached the point at which he made independent religious decisions, the influence of his Catholic home would have been largely dissipated. Nevertheless . . . throughout the busy writing years, bits of Catholic imagery, Catholic sentiment, Catholic tradition, slipping unawares along the channels of the imagination, would enter the main stream of the poet's creative effort and give to that stream slight shifts of direction and touches of color discernible today in the poet's poems and plays" (p. 157). The final chapter, accordingly, presents gleanings from the plays evincing their Catholic flavor. The book concludes with forty pages devoted to *King John*, a reworking of *The Troublesome Raigne*, a strongly Protestant play which Shakespeare transformed so as to present "Catholicism and the Church of Rome in a tolerant and understanding light" (p. 223).

This is a valuable study in that it brings together and evaluates the work of scholars relevant to the religion of Shakespeare and of his father. It extends the grounds for the opinion that the poet retained in his mature years a genuine esteem for certain aspects of the Old Faith. But, in explaining this archaic slant on the basis of Shakespeare's Stratford home (Catholic because of the "Last Will" of "John Shakespear"), de Groot is on dubious ground. "I do not think that this is a forgery," writes Sir Edmund Chambers, one of the few scholars willing to discuss it seriously, "but if the John Shakespeare who made it was the poet's father, it probably dates from his early

life, and carries little evidence as to his religious position under Elizabeth."

Accepting the poet as a good Anglican, on the other hand, two explanations may be suggested for the apparent Catholicism in the plays. In the first place, the English Church was both Catholic and Puritan. "As well-trained Anglicans, Shakspeare and his contemporaries were in their essential doctrines both Roman Catholics and Calvinists—as well as a few other things" (T. W. Baldwin, *Shakspeare's Petty School*, p. 222). Moreover, the poet's fondness for the Old Faith reflects a rural background which was essentially Plantagenet rather than Tudor. As the late Professor Tucker Brooke has well said, "For poetic purposes at least religion still connoted for him friars, masses, vigils, extreme unction, and purgatory. It came natural to him to invoke angels and ministers of grace, to swear by Our Lady and Saint Patrick" (*Shakespeare of Stratford*, pp. 152-53). De Groot recognizes neither of these points of view.

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Newton Demands the Muse; Newton's "Opticks" and the Eighteenth Century Poets. By MARJORIE HOPE NICOLSON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. Pp. xi + 178. \$2.00.

This book is the second in the History of Ideas Series published under the editorial sponsorship and direction of the Editorial Committee of the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. Concerned with the influence of scientific thought and discovery upon eighteenth-century poetry, it follows naturally after such of Professor Nicolson's volumes as *The Microscope and English Imagination* and *World in the Moon*. The specific purpose of the book is to show the effect of Newton's *Opticks* (a *Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections and Colours of Light*) upon poets writing between 1727, the year of Newton's death, and 1756-57, the date of publication of Burke's *Enquiry*.

The effect was on several levels. (1) Newton's use of the prism to break light into its prismatic components suggested such new figures of speech as Pope's "False Eloquence, like the prismatic glass,/ Its gaudy colours spreads on every place." (2) Newton's theory of optics offered material to the expository poets, who took upon themselves the burden of translating scientific information into terms understandable by literate but non-technically trained readers. Thomson's *To the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton* and Glover's *A Poem on Newton* are familiar poems of the kind. Particularly interesting, in the light of Keats's later complaint that philosophy will "unweave a rainbow," are the "rainbow" passages in Thomson's *Spring* and Akenside's *Pleasures of Imagination*, II, 126-31. (3) The *Opticks* gave additional basis for the equation between scientific truth and beauty ("Nor ever yet/ The melting rainbow's vernal-

tintured hues/ To me have shone so pleasing, as when first/ The hand of science pointed out the path . . ."). (4) It led to an unprecedented preoccupation with light (which is hymned by Thomson and his followers in terms scarcely less ecstatic than those used with reference to Nature and to Nature's God); and with color, the poets ringing the changes on the spectral colors of gems, flowers, insects, and the like. (5) It led, in aesthetics, to the important distinction between the beautiful—to be found in colors (" . . . in th'effusive warmth/ Of colours mingling with a random blaze,/ Doth beauty dwell")—and the sublime—to be found, on the one hand, ". . . where celestial truth/ Her awful light discloses, to effuse/ A more majestic pomp on beauty's frame," and, on the other hand, where "universal Darkness buries All." As Burke is later to say of light and darkness: "Thus are two ideas, as opposite as can be imagined, reconciled in the extremes of both; and both, in spite of their opposite nature, brought to concur in producing the sublime." (6) It underlined, in metaphysics, divergent conceptions of reality: some writers praising nature for its beauty; some praising light for giving nature its beauty; some praising themselves for making of nature—"a dull affair, soundless, scentless, colourless"—"a world rich with colour and sound, redolent with fragrance."

There is not a great deal which is new in Professor Nicolson's book, save perhaps for those who have, quite sensibly, some might think, avoided some rather arid pages in Chalmers' *Poets*. But, as might be expected, the material is neatly brought together and competently elucidated. And it is material of no small importance. One minor objection might be raised. The book is rounded off with an epilogue titled "The Poetic Damnation of Newton," this damnation being at the hands of William Blake. The impression might persist that Blake spoke for all the poets of his time. But if he and Keats condemned Newton's influence, others—Shelley, Wordsworth, Byron, Erasmus Darwin—did not. There may have been clouds against the "Newtonian sun"; but it was scarcely close to setting.

CLARK EMERY

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The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography. By FREDERICK J. HOFFMAN, CHARLES ALLEN, and CAROLYN F. ULRICH. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. Pp. ix + 440. \$3.75.

This remarkable book should be read by teachers of literature, by English majors and graduate students in English and sociology departments, by librarians, and by writers who write because they have something to say. It should be of more than passing interest to a great body of readers who are concerned with the leading literary figures of today, because, as the authors note, "about 80 per cent of our most important post-1912 critics, novelists, poets, and story tellers" were first published in the so-called "little" magazines.

Teachers will enjoy participating in the verve and excitement of the creative mind which this record has managed to capture. Not the facts of who was first published where and when, or who edited what, but the creative spirit behind the struggles, and the ideas which motivated them, are what teachers can get from the book. It is this excitement about literature which many teachers could use.

But the major value of the book to readers is as a sourcebook for worthwhile thesis subjects. It is a kind of huge and stimulating map, pointing, pointing, pointing. The student following almost any of the pointers could justify his weeks and months of scholarly traveling by arriving at vistas of knowledge and understanding valuable to himself and to the school which aided the search and catalogued the results.

That this pointing the way was part of the plan of the authors of *The Little Magazine* is implicit throughout the book and explicit in several places. In fact, they begin their Preface on this note: "For some years scholarship in twentieth century literature has been recognized as respectable and valuable. Books of criticism, biographies, and literary histories . . . have been appearing in appreciable numbers. The work of providing scholars and teachers with adequate equipment for their research also goes on, and it is more than ever needed as they begin to see patterns and divisions in the literary history of the recent past."

The authors do an amazingly good job of tracing some of the patterns and divisions. Their chapter headings are suggestive: "Modern Poetry and the Little Magazine"; "Regionalism and the Little Magazine"; "Political Directions in the Literature of the Thirties"; "Variations on the Psychoanalytic Theme." These are but four of the twelve chapters which comprise the history division of the book. The authors' eagerness to map these patterns and divisions leads to incomplete analyses of them, but for the purpose of "providing scholars and teachers with adequate equipment for their research," this inconclusive analysis becomes a strength. It stimulates the student to seek on his own, to question, to discover supporting data, to affirm. And besides, the authors claim no definitive function for their book except that it is a history. This function is performed admirably.

A particularly valuable phase of this function is the 210 pages of Analytical Bibliography, List of References, and Index. The bibliography lists the magazines by the years they began publication, the editors, their policy, and some of the more important contributors.

Though the book's value as stimulating reference for librarians, students of the social scene, and beginning writers is by now probably obvious, nevertheless mention may be made of two additional conclusions which the authors make and provide supporting data for. The little magazines "have introduced and sponsored every noteworthy literary movement or school that has made its appearance in America during the past thirty years." And for the editors and writers alike, "The integrity and dignity of the self seemed important above all else."

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Dictionary of Everyday Usage: German-English, English-German. (Konversationslexikon der amerikanischen und deutschen Sprache.) Edited by J. ALAN PFEFFER. Published by the Intensive Language Program, American Council of Learned Societies, 1945. Pp. xxvi + 504.

The *Dictionary of Everyday Usage* does not aim at completeness. The editor writes that "the entries are limited to those words of highest importance and frequency in current usage" (Foreword) and, as a result of this self-imposed limitation, "the dictionary is to be used as a work book rather than as a reference volume." There can be no objection to such limitation, if the method of selecting the words of "highest importance and frequency in current usage" is valid. We are told (pp. viii, ix) that the selections are based upon

(a) word and idiom counts (for German the well-known lists by Morgan, Purin, Hauch, Vail, Bakony, Schinnerer and Wendt, Wadeuhl and Morgan, and Eaton; for English *The Teacher's Word Book of 30,000 Words* by Thorndike and Lorge was collated with a *Master List* prepared by a staff of native Americans under the direction of William M. Austin and Allen Walker Reed);

(b) utility lists (special compilations, prepared by the staff, of words and terms used for foods, animals, clothing, sports, trades, travel, etc.);

(c) a check of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries (*Der Sprach-Brockhaus*, *Der Große Duden: Stikwörterbuch*, *Cassell's*, *Muret-Sanders*; *Thorndike*, *Webster's Collegiate*);

(d) a check for currency in life situations (Despite their high literary frequency, words and meanings which do not "fit into patterns of everyday speech" were excluded. The exact method of this check is not described.);

(e) a check for relative scope (If a noun was considered "less significant" than its corresponding verb, or vice versa, it was omitted. Except for some illustrative examples, "all common compounds and linkages" which can easily be formed and identified were omitted, and also "most feminine substantives derived from masculine nouns by means of a suffix." Again the exact method of this check is not described.).

All this strikes the reviewer as good, sound procedure, even though a few things may be questioned. Under (d) and (e), the method of the check should have been explained. Under (e), for example, was a noun considered "less significant" than its corresponding verb on the basis of statistical studies or on the basis of the editorial staff's feelings about the matter? Likewise under (d), without statistical studies there must be a considerable number of cases in which it is not easy to decide what terms and meanings do not "fit into patterns of everyday speech." On the other hand, we are told that the *Master List*, mentioned under (a), incorporates all standard English word and semantic counts.

Ordinary slang is usually omitted; when it is included it is so labeled (Foreword, p. iv). The status of American regionalisms is not mentioned, but the reviewer found no examples in going through the dictionary. However, "words and meanings used only in Austria or in South Germany and Austria are so identified" (p. xi). This is a rough classification which is not too useful and may even be misleading. Presumably, any word not "so identified" is used throughout

the German-speaking area, but with many words this is not true, as a glance at Paul Kretschmer's *Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache* (Göttingen, 1918) will show. For example, the two words *Sonnabend* and *Samstag* are given for "Saturday" in the German part without any comment, and in the English part the two words are merely given as synonyms. In reality, there is a clear-cut regional distribution in the use of the two German words. *Sonnabend* is used in North and East Germany, and *Samstag* is used in West Germany (a broad band on both sides of the Rhine), South Germany (as far north as the Main), and Austria. A check of the German words for "cabbage," "chimney," "cream," "barn," and "horse" shows the same inadequacy. It is true that a definitive word-geography of Germany has not been completed, but our present knowledge goes beyond the inadequate and misleading classification used by this dictionary.

The paragraphs on "German Spelling and Pronunciation" are clear and concise. The system of phonetic spelling, used only for words in which the ordinary spelling system is inadequate, is quite satisfactory. Accent is marked only when it does not fall on the first syllable; a period is then placed below the vowel or diphthong of the syllable which is accented. There are only a few minor things with which the reviewer takes exception. On p. xvii, § 8, we are told that the long vowel represented by the spelling *ä*, *äh* is usually pronounced [ē], but in very formal speech a more open variety, [ā], is used. "In everyday speech, however, the sound [ā] is used only for humorous effect." This statement may be true in the speech of certain localities, social levels, or age groups, but the reviewer has heard both native and American Germans use the open vowel in conversation in such words as *während*, *ähnlich*, and especially in such subjunctive forms as *nähme* [nāmə] and *sähe* [zāə] (in opposition to the present indicative forms *ich nehme* [ix nēmə] and *ich sehe* [ix zēə]). In § 13, the table of consonants, [ts] is listed, but not [pf]. The same procedure is followed in § 17, the German spelling table. Either this is an oversight, or else the writer must be of the opinion that [ts] is a unit phoneme and [pf] is a consonant cluster. Some phonemicists treat both [ts] and [pf] as unit phonemes, and others treat both as clusters, but certainly both must be treated alike.

One of the strong points of this dictionary is its typographical excellence and its general arrangement. Not only the main entries, but also the sub-entries are set in bold face, and the definitions and examples are set in a type large and clear enough to be easily read. Special "collocations" (idioms and meanings with restricted application) are marked with a double asterisk and are usually set separately at the end of the entry. The ease and quickness with which items can be found reduce labor and eyestrain to a minimum. For example, *alle sein* "to be all gone" is a separate entry, stands out clearly, and can be found at a glance. In *Cassell's*, on the other hand, this item is buried in a column of fine print, and half the column must be carefully scanned before the user finds it.

The illustrative sentences give this dictionary an exceptional value. In both the German-English and the English-German parts the percentage of entries without an illustration is very small. Also helpful is the fact that idioms are often given under more than one entry. For example, *in die Arme laufen* "to bump into" is given under both *Arm* and *laufen* (in *Cassell's* only under *laufen*, and again lost in a column of small print).

Other dictionaries could profitably follow the example set by this dictionary in citing the principal parts of nouns. Since most German masculine and neuter nouns have the genitive singular ending *-(e)s*, it is pointless to cite the genitive singular as one of the principal parts except when a noun has the ending *-en* or *-ens*.

For the beginner in either German or English (the dictionary is intended for both) it is useful that all irregular words are marked. A single asterisk after the word is used for this; e. g., with *falsch verstehen* "to misunderstand," both *verstehen* and "misunderstand" are followed by an asterisk; the principal parts of these words can then be found by looking under *stehen* and "stand." It may be taking too much for granted to believe that beginners will be able to break down these compounds into their components.

Along with its good points, however, the dictionary has some weaknesses. The user will look in vain for many words and idioms. To be sure, the dictionary does not aim at completeness. It contains only slightly more than 20,000 entries, about evenly divided between the German-English and the English-German parts. But the reviewer is forced to wonder whether the editorial staff always did choose the most commonly used words and idioms, despite the rather elaborate system of checks used in deciding upon the inclusion of an item. Only a few examples can be given. In the English-German part there is no entry for *air force*, although we find *aircraft carrier*, *airfield*, *air mail*, *airplane*, *airport*, *air raid*; neither is *Luftwaffe* included in the German-English part, although there is room for *Luftpost*, *Flughafen*, *Fluglinie*, *Flugplatz*, *Flugpost*, *Flugzeug*, *Flugzeugträger*. The reviewer jotted down twenty expressions while reading the Sunday edition of a Milwaukee paper, and of these twenty the following nine are not to be found in the dictionary: *the clock ran down*, *a dandy*, *that caps everything*, *a snob*, *a go-getter*, *worth his salt*, *the black sheep of the family*, *he made quite a hit*, *red tape*. Of these, *go-getter* and *black sheep* are not in *Cassell's* either. Then the reviewer took twenty expressions from the conversational sections of Hesse's *Knulp*, and of these, the following four are not included in the dictionary: *Stunden schwänzen*, *nichts für ungut!*, *fehlgeschossen!*, *mein Lebtage*. All twenty are in *Cassell's*.

There are several methods by which some space could have been saved so that more items might have been included without increasing the size of the volume. For many entries more than one definition must be given, but care should have been taken not to say the same thing in different words or even in the same words; e. g., "*ablehnen* 1. to decline, refuse, turn down. *Leider muß ich Ihre freundliche Einladung ablehnen*. Unfortunately I must decline your kind invitation.

2. to turn down. *Mein Gesuch wurde abgelehnt*. My application was turned down. 3. to defeat, reject. *Der Antrag wurde abgelehnt*. The motion was defeated." The second definition and example add nothing to the first. Under *absetzen*, definition 4 "to depose" should be included under the definition 2 "to remove from office, dismiss." For the sub-entry *ähnlich sehen*, it is unnecessary to give both the positive and negative idioms *Das sieht ihm ähnlich* "That's just like him" and *Das sieht ihm gar nicht ähnlich* "that's quite unlike him." On the whole, the illustrative sentences could often be shortened without losing any of their value.

Part III of the dictionary is a "Summary of German Grammar" by Dr. G. Moulton. The material is treated concisely, but adequately and interestingly. The section on the noun is a masterpiece of condensation. The attempt at systematization and simplification of the verb, however, does not strike the reviewer as too successful. There does not seem to be much of an advantage in speaking of "tense phrases" instead of "compound tenses," and a designation such as "the future phrase" is not necessarily clearer than "the future." The forms traditionally classified under the heading "subjunctive" (the term is not mentioned here) are split into the "unreal" and the "quotative" on the basis of using such forms as *er sänge* in contrary-to-fact sentences and *er singe* in indirect discourse. This is a good solution of a vexing problem, but it might be better to choose other designations, because the "unreal" is also used in indirect discourse, as Dr. Moulton points out (p. 490, § 8.5b), and the "quotative" is not only used in indirect discourse but also in formal wishes (p. 491, § 8.6b), in a few fixed expressions (p. 491, § 8.6c), and suppletively for the missing imperative forms (which Dr. Moulton does not mention).

On the whole, this dictionary is a valuable piece of work and can be warmly recommended in spite of a few weak points. American students will find it especially helpful, and anyone who must translate from the one language to the other will find it useful.

LESTER W. J. SEIFERT

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Attitudes of Seventeenth-Century France toward the Middle Ages.

By NATHAN EDELMAN. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. xvi + 464. \$4.00.

Mr. Edelman's study is obviously the product of profound scholarship and intensive research. Its object is to refute the traditional theory that no traces of medieval civilization, and more particularly of medieval literature, are to be found in seventeenth-century France. With painstaking care, the writer adduces a mass of indubitable evidence which proves that, quite to the contrary, not only the French scholars of the seventeenth century but the laymen as well were keenly aware of their medieval heritage. As for their appraisals of this heritage, they were not of one accord. Their attitudes ranged from utter contempt to unqualified praise. Clearly and with careful

attention to detail, Mr. Edelman sets forth these widely divergent views—views of historians and of men of letters, views of the court and of the salon—concerning the Middle Ages, and especially with respect to the various literary types and individual writers.

After citing the eloquent verses of Le Moyne in which the seventeenth-century poet contemplated with nostalgia the many cities of the past that lay buried beneath the modern city of Paris, Mr. Edelman ends his first chapter thus: "We are very far from the oblivion that was to have enveloped the Middle Ages—nearly as far, perhaps, in mood if not in language or technique, as some romanticists singing old ruins will take us."

In his second chapter, the writer analyzes the attraction of medieval studies and points out that, motivated by a variety of purposes such as the advancement of genealogy, chronology, philology, diplomatics, archeology, hagiography, or ecclesiastical history, the seventeenth-century scholars turned from the field of Classical antiquity to the less explored Middle Ages.

"While the scholars delved, the layman did not always remain a passive, ignorant bystander." So opens the third chapter, entitled "Fortunes of Medieval Heroes—The Knight." Mr. Edelman then proceeds to show that, far from being forgotten, the medieval characters, and especially the knight-errant of the famous tales of chivalry, occupied an important place in the seventeenth century. The layman simplified and modernized them, but they were none the less medieval in origin.

Chapter Four traces the role of the medieval heroes in the seventeenth-century French novel and drama, and Chapter Five, that of the French national heroes of the Middle Ages in the seventeenth-century epic. Though generally not presented with historical realism, that is, usually without any attempt at a genuine reconstruction of the past, "the Middle Ages," says Mr. Edelman, "were above all a source of fictional and dramatic subjects, to be treated in seventeenth-century fashion. They exerted a simple attraction; they were the famed long-ago—the abode of heroes. To this extent the Middle Ages survived; and in the seventeenth century this was survival enough." The final chapter is devoted to the appreciation of medieval literature in seventeenth-century France, and it is here that we see plainly how varied were the attitudes expressed, from harsh criticism to frank admiration.

The author then concludes that the Middle Ages did indeed live on through the seventeenth century in France, and that, thanks to a widespread recognition of their good qualities, this survival was not completely marred by the clichés of medieval barbarity.

Mr. Edelman suggests that in the realm of art, also, there was a similar survival, which he proposes to examine in a later study. Surely, readers of the present volume, which offers so much valuable information in a style that is at once clear and precise, will anticipate this subsequent work with pleasure.

CLOTILDE WILSON

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